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65TH CONGRESS }
3d Session }

SENATE

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No. 448 }

FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS

(Late a Senator from Nevada)

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE
OF THE UNITED STATES

SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Proceedings in the Senate
September 2, 1918

Proceedings in the House
January 3, 1918

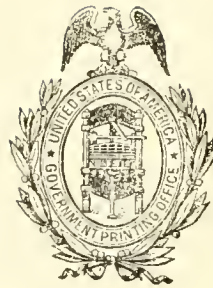
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HON. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS

DEATH OF HON. FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

THURSDAY, *January 3, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, in Thy great goodness Thou hast brought us to the beginning of a new year. Thou hast enabled us to write one of the fairest and greatest pages in the history of the whole world in the year that has gone. We bless Thee that Thou hast led us through the year with unity of spirit and with devotion to the great and high ideals to which this Nation has been consecrated.

We pray Thee that as we begin the new year we may begin it under the inspiration and guidance of God alone. Let Thy blessing rest upon every man whom Thou hast called to a place of influence in this Nation, that he may feel the support and interest and cooperation of all the citizenship, that we may continue the unity of spirit and purpose and effort until success comes to our enterprise.

We miss the genial face to-day of one of our colleagues in this Chamber whom Thou hast called to the great beyond. We thank Thee for the wide influence, for the friendship, for the inspiration of his life. We pray that Thy blessing may rest upon the inner circle of his loved ones and that his memory may abide as an inspiration to us all in this Chamber.

Now, God our Father, guide us by Thy counsel. Give to us the continual influence of Thy Spirit. Bring us to the end of our great national enterprise for the establishment of peace and brotherhood in the earth. For Christ's sake. Amen.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, in the absence of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman] and acting in accordance with a request from him sent to me by wire—and I should say that Senator Pittman's absence is due to a delayed train on which he is now traveling to Washington—it becomes my duty to make public announcement on the floor of the Senate of the death of the senior Senator from Nevada, Senator NEWLANDS. I ask that the telegram received from Senator Pittman may be printed in the Record.

The telegram referred to is as follows:

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., *January 3, 1918.*

Senator MARTIN,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.:

My train is five hours late. Should I not arrive in time, may I beg you to move an adjournment in respect for the memory of our late colleague, Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS? In his death our State and our Government has lost one of its foremost statesmen. He won the affection of his friends by his ever gentle, genial, and considerate manner, and commanded the admiration of all by the power of his statesmanship. His loss is bemoaned by all in our State. At the proper time I will ask that a day be set apart in which tribute may fittingly be paid to his memory.

KEY PITTMAN.

Mr. MARTIN. I think, Mr. President, I can safely say that Senator NEWLANDS was not only held in high regard but affectionate regard by every Senator on the floor of this body. In addition to our personal loss, Mr. President, I feel that I should also add that the death of Senator NEWLANDS in this crisis of our history is a great public loss. His familiarity with the subject which is now engrossing the attention of the country made his services peculiarly desirable and efficient. But it has pleased the Almighty to call him from our midst, and all we can do is to bow humbly to that decree.

Later on a day, of course, will be fixed when proper tribute may be paid to the memory of this distinguished

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

Member of this body. In the meantime, Mr. President, I send to the desk resolutions which I ask may have immediate consideration.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolutions will be read.

The resolutions (S. Res. 173) were read, considered by unanimous consent, and unanimously agreed to, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, late a Senator from the State of Nevada.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of our deceased colleague I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 5 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, January 4, 1918, at 12 o'clock m.

FRIDAY, *January 4, 1918.*

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. G. F. Turner, one of its clerks, announced that the House had passed resolutions relative to the death of Hon. FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS, late a Senator from the State of Nevada.

MONDAY, *January 7, 1918.*

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the following letter.

The Secretary read as follows:

JANUARY 5, 1918.

MY DEAR MR. VICE PRESIDENT: I beg to express to you and through you to the Members of the Senate my appreciation of your friendly sympathy during these last sad days.

My husband treasured the friendships he had formed in the Senate and valued his associations there beyond any other interest.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

The evidences of the friendly feeling which his associates had for him, as expressed by you and them, have been most grateful to me.

Very sincerely, yours,

EDITH MCA. NEWLANDS.

THURSDAY, *February 7, 1918.*

Mr. PHELAN. Mr. President, I present resolutions adopted by the Chamber of Commerce of Los Angeles, Calif., which I ask may be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Whereas a great leader in the development of the West has been lost to the country by the recent death of Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, whose years of devotion to the cause of national reclamation and river regulation contributed so largely and were so indispensable to the success of the campaign for the United States reclamation act, passed in June, 1902, and the Newlands river regulation amendment, passed as section 18 of the rivers and harbors bill in August, 1917: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce hereby expresses its deep appreciation of the public services rendered by the late FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS in his long career as a Member of the House of Representatives and the Senate of the United States, and its profound regret that his death should have brought that career to an end; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be spread upon the records of this chamber and a copy thereof sent to the family of the deceased and to the President of the Senate.

I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of resolutions adopted by the board of directors of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce at their regular meeting on Wednesday, January 2, 1918.

OSCAR C. MUELLER,
Vice President.

Attest:

FRANK WIGGINS, *Secretary.*

SATURDAY, *July 13, 1918.*

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, after consultation with the senior Senator from Virginia [Mr. Martin], I desire to

give notice that on Monday, the 26th day of August, following the routine morning business, I shall ask that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, that the Senate may have an opportunity to pay respect to the memory of the late Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

WEDNESDAY, *August 28, 1918.*

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, it is my sad duty to announce to the Senate the death of my distinguished colleague, Hon. Ollie M. James, which occurred at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore this morning about 6.30, and while it has not been unexpected for some time it comes as a great shock to all of us and to all who knew him.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, this is the day which had been agreed to by the Senate for holding memorial exercises in respect to the memory of the late Senator from Nevada, FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS. I, as does every Member of the Senate, concur in the sentiments expressed by the Senator from Kentucky relative to our beloved friend, and, of course, in the circumstances it is fit and proper that this body shall adjourn in accordance with custom, and I have been informed by the Senator from Kentucky that he is about to make such a motion. I know that the action proposed by the Senator from Kentucky will meet with the entire approval of the family of the late Senator and that this custom of the Senate is thoroughly understood. But before action is taken upon that motion out of respect to the late Senator James I give notice that on Monday morning, immediately after the Senate convenes, the memorial exercises in respect to the memory of the late Senator FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS will be held by unanimous consent.

Mr. BECKHAM. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of Senator James I move that the Senate do now adjourn.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 12 o'clock and 10 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, August 29, 1918, at 12 o'clock m.

MONDAY, *September 2, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Forrest J. Prettyman, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, we bow before Thy sovereignty and call upon Thy name seeking Thy blessing and guidance this day. This day has been set apart in the interest of that great toiling mass who have added so much happiness and prosperity to our country. We pray that Thy blessing may rest upon the toilers of our land. We thank Thee for the nobility of this class of our citizenship, for their loyalty to the Nation, and their devotion to the flag. They have been called upon to perform a great task in the present world conflict. Give to each one a clear vision of the glory of their toil as a part of the Nation's struggle to preserve our liberties. Bless them with happy homes and the widest opportunities for advancement in life. Grant, we pray, that Thou wilt, through the ministry of this day, bring together in closer fellowship and sympathy all the classes of our citizenship, that we may realize the oneness of our national life and of the high aims that we have before us to-day. As we remember to-day, according to the program of this day, one who has passed away from the membership of this Senate we pray that Thy Spirit may lead us to remember the uncertainties of life, and lead us to cherish the memories of men who have so truly served their day and generation, and hold sacred their names in the list of the honored of our land, that they may not be forgotten but abide as an inspiration to those who follow them. Hear us in our prayer. For Christ's sake. Amen.

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, the ceremonies that we intend to hold to-day were to be held last Wednesday, but

PROCEEDINGS IN THE SENATE

at that time it was unanimously understood that they would be postponed until to-day, and that on to-day no other business would be transacted. I do not know whether the understanding has been placed in the regular form of a unanimous-consent agreement, and therefore I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with, that the morning business be dispensed with, and the unfinished business temporarily laid aside for the day, and that upon the completion of the ceremonies the Senate shall adjourn until Tuesday at 12 o'clock.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Senator from Nevada asks unanimous consent that the reading of the Journal be dispensed with, that morning business be dispensed with, that the unfinished business be temporarily laid aside, that the proceedings of the day consist of memorial addresses on the life and character of the late FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, a Senator from the State of Nevada, and that at the conclusion thereof the Senate shall adjourn. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman]? The Chair hears none.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES

ADDRESS OF MR. PITTMAN, OF NEVADA

MR. PRESIDENT: FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS, late Senator from the State of Nevada, passed away on the 24th day of December at his home here in Washington. In his intellectual prime and splendid physical vigor, his death came as a severe shock to his colleagues. There was no warning to prepare us for the great loss. During the entire session, yes, even to the day of his departure, his brilliant mind and active body were busily engaged with legislation vital to the welfare of our country.

As chairman of the great Committee on Interstate Commerce of the Senate, during a period when transportation was the lifeblood of nations in a world's war for existence, every resource of his masterful mind and every nerve of his body were self-sacrificingly dedicated to his patriotic task.

Mr. President, FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS was wont to carry his heavy burdens in so happy a manner and to accomplish his great undertakings with such modesty that even his family and most intimate friends did not realize that he had given all he had to give in this existence to the cause of his country. He went over the top and gave his life with the same unflinching bravery and glorious patriotism that has lifted our boys in France above earthly praise. He has gone and the Nation has lost a great and good man. He enjoyed the profound respect and the deep affection of every Member of this body and we grieve with his family and our heartfelt sympathy goes out to them.

Mr. President, the life of Senator NEWLANDS was such as is rarely allotted to man. He was born in Natchez,

Miss., August 28, 1848. His parents were of good old Anglo-Saxon stock, possessed of the means to give their son every advantage of learning and culture. He received his education from private tutors and at Yale College and the Columbian Law College. When 22 years of age he was admitted to the practice of law in the District of Columbia. This, however, was not to be the arena for his enterprise. Even then he had visions of a broader field of endeavor. With that independence and fearlessness that marked his whole life he enthusiastically pursued his destiny.

Immediately after his admission to the bar he removed to San Francisco, Calif., then the pioneer cosmopolis of our country, and cast his career in its wild, brilliant, complex atmosphere. Those were the days of gold. Its irresistible magnetism had drawn from the four corners of the earth typical specimens of all God's creation. The Mexican relic of the hacienda California, the rough miner, the brazen gambler, the cunning confidence man, the patient padre, and the new millionaire lived, dined, and brushed shoulders with distinguished jurists, eminent scientists, and superior men of every occupation, all drawn to the golden Mecca by the same alluring power, a power that must be felt to be understood. Not the sordid greed for gold that puts its mark upon the miser, but the exhilarating joy of discovering it in nature's hiding places and giving it bounteously to the world—the power of romance, hope, and unrestricted opportunity.

The legal history of the West is illuminated by the names of the great lawyers who came from every section of the United States, moved by the same vision that appeared to FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS. Neither the influence of family, wealth, nor prior prestige had power of conquest in that new world. Every man was weighed and measured for his intrinsic worth. It was a frank, independent, fearless, vigorous, charitable, generous, fighting commu-

nity. There was no such thing as equality of accomplishment nor of existence. A man either went over the top or was shot at dawn.

Into this maelstrom of action and events went the young NEWLANDS, without introduction, wealth, or influence. In four years he had fought his way to the forefront of the San Francisco bar. As general counsel for the mining interests of Senator Sharon in the great Comstock mines he became a frequent visitor to the State of Nevada. He became acquainted with her vast acres of rich soil impatiently waiting for the tardy hand of government to permit the waters of the mountains to flow over their bosoms and fertilize them into wonderful productivity. He saw the great silver producers of the State, that had sustained the Nation's credit in its hour of panic, calling for a champion to tear away the heavy hand of those who would destroy them. It was a great arena for a great fighter, and FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS longed for the fray. In 1888 he moved to Nevada, established his home, took an active part in the development of the State, and became one of its largest landowners.

Nevada at that time was suffering from the effects of the demonetization of silver and the negligent attitude of the National Government toward its public lands, which embraced 95 per cent of the area of the State. The people of Nevada were thoroughly aroused by these intolerable conditions. Naturally, Mr. NEWLANDS was animated by the local sentiment, but his sincere belief in the economic soundness of bimetallism could not be doubted by anyone who had read or listened to his persuasive addresses upon this subject. He was deeply sympathetic with the silver miner and was conscious of the violent legislative injustice done a great western industry, yet he did not base his principal arguments upon these grounds, but, in the characteristic manner in which he approached all great problems, he considered and presented the subject from the

broad standpoint of the national welfare. He soon became one of the strongest advocates of the principle and was recognized throughout the country as a leader in the movement.

In January, 1892, in the city of Washington, he actively participated with other great leaders in the organization of the American Bimetallic Party. This organization was rather of the character of a committee, but it was the forerunner and the inspiration for the organization of the National Silver Party, which held its convention at St. Louis, Mo., on the 26th day of July, 1896, and which nominated William J. Bryan, the then Democratic candidate, as its candidate for President of the United States. Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS was chairman pro tempore of this remarkable convention, and as such officer was delegated the honor of laying down the principles of bimetallism.

In the same year he also participated in the organization of the Silver Party in Nevada and became its first nominee for Representative in Congress. A newcomer to the State and a stranger to most of its citizens, he entered the campaign with the same fearlessness that marked his rise in San Francisco, and through the force of his own ability and personality was elected by the largest plurality ever given any candidate for the high office.

In 1894 he was elected upon the concurrent nominations of the Silver Party and the Silver Republican Party. In 1896, 1898, and 1900 he was successively returned to Congress upon the nomination of the Democratic Party and upon the indorsement of the Silver Party. This term ended his brilliant career in the House of Representatives. As a Member of that body he served upon several great committees and took an active part in the debates upon the floor.

Immediately upon his induction into office as a Member of the House he vigorously attacked the problem of

national conservation of the waters of the West and the reclamation of its vast valleys of arid but fertile Government lands. The policy was then considered by almost the entire membership of Congress as an Utopian dream of most radical and impracticable State socialism, unworthy, even, of the gentle ridicule of profound and distinguished statesmen. Conservation had not then become the stepping-stone for statesmen and the football for fools. Its dawn was not visible except to the few far-sighted statesmen. Day by day, and month by month, his unanswerable logic and persuasive pleas fell upon unlistening ears. Session after session he saw his legislative provisions silently and contemptuously brushed aside. Yet for 10 years in the House of Representatives he persisted in his untiring efforts, and with that fortitude, patience, and faith that is so rare in legislators and that so peculiarly characterized our deceased colleague slowly but surely he won the country to his views and after 10 years of unceasing labor Congress passed the Newlands national reclamation act.

This law has transformed hundreds of thousands of acres of desert land into blooming, productive fields; has made happy homes for thousands of citizens, and enriched his State and the Nation. Senator NEWLANDS has many splendid acts of statesmanship to his credit, yet this alone will cause his name to live in the hearts of the West and upon the pages of his country's history.

In 1902 he was nominated by the Democratic Party for United States Senator and indorsed by the Silver Party. That was the last year of the existence of the Silver Party. It had played its part, its work was done. At the ensuing election he was elected as a Member of this body by an overwhelming vote. Again in 1908 and 1914, as the candidate of the Democratic Party, he was returned to the Senate. Immediately upon taking up his duties in the Senate he continued his constructive work for the conser-

vation, control, and utilization of the flood waters of our rivers. His comprehensive and magnificent plan contemplated the impounding of such flood waters at or near the source and their control and utilization for irrigation and in aid of navigation upon our inland waterways. He deplored the neglect of our inland waterways and their abandonment as arteries of trade. He clearly saw the era rapidly approaching when these great public highways would be essential to the speedy and economical transportation of the tremendous and rapidly growing traffic of our country. How clear was his vision is conclusively proven by the present conditions. Just before he gave up his life work, and after 16 years of able and persistent endeavor, his heart was made glad and his patient labors were rewarded by the initiation of the first step in his great program.

Mr. President, I will not further attempt to review other important acts of legislation in which he played a leading part. These are all matters of record, and further, Mr. President, are more familiar to some of his other colleagues who participated directly with him in such momentous undertakings.

Mr. President, Senator NEWLANDS was peculiarly a national statesman. His mind dwelt upon large national and international problems. His wonderful vision and progressive ideals frequently led him away from the present into the impending realm of future activity. Vigilant and vigorous though he was in the protection of the local interests of his State, he never emphasized this branch of his service nor attempted to use it for political profit. He took no pleasure in the power of political patronage and cringed from the practice of minor political arts. He was firm in his adherence to certain principles of government, but was individualistic rather than partisan in politics. He was a happy, sociable, congenial man, who loved his fellow man, and yet he made no effort to utilize

these charming gifts to win the support of the voters of his State. He seemed to feel that such a method of campaigning was a reflection upon the intelligence of the citizens of his State and a depreciation of the great office which he represented. He was a politician only in the highest sense of the term. And yet, Mr. President, no man ever had a stronger hold upon the confidence and loyalty of the people of his State than did FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS. They knew the man. They had confidence in his ability, sincerity, and loyalty. They recognized his statesmanship and were proud to have him as the representative of the State of Nevada.

The private and domestic life of Senator NEWLANDS were equally idealistic. In 1874 Clara Adelaide Sharon, daughter of Senator Sharon, of Nevada, became his wife. To this short but happy union three daughters were born to give pride and happiness to their father throughout his entire life. In 1882 Clara Sharon Newlands passed away. The period of his widowerhood was probably the only sad years of his long life. In 1888 he was united in marriage to Miss Edith McAllister, the daughter of the dean of the San Francisco bar. No union could have been more complete or happy. A woman of remarkable ability, splendid education, and unusual accomplishments, she became his daily companion in all of his thoughts and works. Through her charming hospitality and entertaining personality she attracted to their home in Nevada and their home in Washington the most delightful men and women in public and private life. His happy disposition reflected the love and admiration of his family and friends.

He was a devoted husband and father, a true friend, a fearless man, and he died while performing his public duties after 25 years of continuous service on behalf of his State and his country.

ADDRESS OF MR. LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS

MR. PRESIDENT: Senator NEWLANDS became a Member of the House on March 4, 1893, the same day on which I took my seat in the Senate, and from that day until his death—for 25 years—we were friends, meeting constantly not only in the Senate but elsewhere. I felt for Senator NEWLANDS always a very real affection, and his death meant to me the loss of a most valued friend.

It is not for me to sketch the history of his life. That will be better done by others. I desire only to speak briefly of the man as I knew him. He was very active always in the work of the House and the Senate. He was a man who was both liberal and tolerant, and he was one who thought for himself and had many ideas of his own which he desired to put into the form of law. People were apt, I think, to regard him in some degree as a dreamer, but many of his dreams have finally found either complete or partial expression in laws which have been passed. He was very pertinacious about any idea or any scheme which he had once adopted, and neither opposition nor indifference could turn him from his path. But however impracticable some of his theories may have been thought at the time or subsequently, everyone had to admit that they were designed to promote the welfare of the country and the well-being of his fellow citizens. His designs were large, but their purpose was always a good one. He did not confine himself to the subjects which greatly occupied his mind, like the coordination of Government activities and the development of our internal navigation. He spread himself over a much larger field, for he was a lover of art and architecture, and he had a realizing sense of the permanency involved in buildings and monuments. He addressed himself in obedience

to these desires and tastes to the improvement of the city of Washington. We are painfully familiar with Members of Congress in both branches who find it desirable to assail Washington and its people, which can be done with political safety and possibly with political profit. From such persons as these Senator NEWLANDS widely differed. He worked for the improvement of Washington not because there was any political profit in it, for there was none, but because he desired to see our Capital City worthy of the Nation which established it. It was most disinterested and most unselfish work, and his name stands with the very few in House and Senate who have labored in season and out for the interests of Washington with no thought except what was best for the Capital of the country.

After all, however, that which is uppermost in my mind is the thought of the man and the friend who has gone. He always seemed to me to be one of the very best tempered men I have ever known. No difference and no opposition ever seemed to change his pleasant ways toward those who did not agree with him. His ability no one questioned, and everyone recognized that he was one of the most agreeable companions and one of the pleasantest of friends. It was always a happiness to meet him everywhere, and he had in large measure that most impalpable and most attractive of all qualities—personal charm. In the lives of all who have known him and who have had a warm affection for him he leaves a gap which is one of those that can not be filled.

ADDRESS OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN, OF OREGON

MR. PRESIDENT: It is fitting that we pay tribute to the memory of our late and beloved colleague, FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

It has been my privilege and pleasure to know him quite intimately during the past 15 years, and as I look back over that acquaintance it is gratifying to me to know that nothing has ever transpired to interrupt a delightful friendship.

It is hard to realize that he is no longer with us. The fleeting years had dealt with him so kindly that he seemed at the time of his death almost in his prime, and there was every indication that he would yet be spared to round out a busy and useful life. Words are feeble things when one undertakes to give utterance to the thoughts in one's mind when the heart is distressed over the loss of a dear friend or loved one. So now I find myself unable to give expression to my feelings in reference to our dear dead friend.

He was in many respects a very remarkable man. Born, as he was, in the South, while yet a boy he took up his residence in the West and, it might be said, grew up with it. He loved the West as the West loved him, and there was constantly in his mind the thought of constructive legislation which would benefit the section which he so ably represented. I think it may be safely said that no one did more and probably no one did as much as he in the matter of legislation that would result in reclamation of arid and semiarid lands. He had much to do with the original Carey Act, as he had with the later act providing for the reclamation of Government lands. These acts bear the impress of his brain and hand. Together they have added millions of wealth to the semiarid States and furnished homes to the homeless from nearly every State in the Union.

ADDRESS OF MR. CHAMBERLAIN, OF OREGON

For a number of years he has worked most diligently along the lines of conservation of our natural resources, and his colleagues will remember how zealously he has contended for the storage of waters at the head of navigable streams, with the object in view, first, of reducing flood devastation, and, second, utilization of these stored waters for the purpose of reclamation. In my opinion he impressed the country not only with his sincerity in this behalf but of the entire feasibility of his plan, and after years of effort the first steps are being taken to carry out a part of his program. His persistency in the accomplishment of legislation which was near to his heart was the wonder and admiration of his friends, whether they agreed with him or not. In season and out of season he took occasion to impress his views upon the Senate, and always did it eloquently and ably. The record of his long and splendid public service has been dwelt upon by his colleagues, and I merely mention the two or three things with which his name must ever be connected and which have done so much for the happiness of mankind.

In his association with his colleagues he was always the same cordial, kind-hearted, chivalrous gentleman, and, although I have seen him laboring under great provocation, I never saw him lose his temper. I have sometimes wondered how he maintained such splendid equilibrium at all times and under all circumstances. In all the years of our acquaintance I never heard him speak unkindly of friend or foe, and that can not be said of many men in public life. There was always that in his heart which made him love to do a kindly act or to say a pleasant thing of his fellow man. Those of us who have enjoyed the hospitality of his delightful home look back with pleasure upon our association with him there. A genial and lovable man in all his associations, he was at his best as a host. He possessed that peculiar charm of manner that made all who approached love and admire him.

ADDRESS OF MR. KING, OF UTAH

MR. PRESIDENT: I did not know until a few moments since that I was to be honored in having an opportunity to submit a few observations upon this occasion. While I appreciate the courtesy extended me to say a few words, I know I shall fail to give utterance to what is within my heart to say concerning the memory of one whom I loved so well. And what I shall say will be a very imperfect tribute to a great man who has gone from our midst and whose death has resulted in a loss which is irreparable. While these memorial exercises have been in progress I have been thinking of great public characters whom I have had the honor of knowing and who have passed to the great beyond; and I can truthfully state that, much as I esteemed and honored them, the death of none gave me such poignant grief and sorrow as that of the demise of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS. There was no one in public life for whom I entertained so deep an affection as I did for him.

His death, therefore, means to me much more than the passing away of a great public character; it means the loss of one whose friendship I prized, whose companionship I cherished, whose qualities of head and heart drew from me deep and lasting affection for him.

My acquaintance with Senator NEWLANDS began at the special session of Congress in 1897. I had known of him prior to that time because his fame had spread throughout the West. He had been conspicuous in the advocacy of great and important fiscal policies and in the discussion of questions relating to the development of the West and the resources of our country. When I came, as a young man, to the House of Representatives I immediately sought an acquaintance with Mr. NEWLANDS, the

then Representative from the State of Nevada. Because of his great ability, his high character, his qualities of leadership, I sought an opportunity to know him and was glad to regard him as a mentor and as a guide. I had somewhat of the feeling toward him then that finds expression in the words of the intrepid Kent, who said to the kingly Lear:

You have that in your countenance which I would fain call master—authority.

He exhibited so much of wisdom, of sagacity, of brilliant statesmanship, and possessed so clear a vision of the future of the needs of our Nation, and he spoke with such assurance and such authority, that I was glad to stand near him and to follow his leadership upon great and important questions. In the great battles which he waged in the House, and those in which he participated in this forum, I always thought of him as one—

Whose armor conscience buckled on,
Whom zeal and charity brought to the field,
As God's own soldier.

The Civil War and the period of reconstruction following, as well as a consideration of the important questions which called for national legislation, seemed to have clouded the vision of our country to the West and to its resources and possibilities. There were many in our country who regarded the arid and semiarid West as an encumbrance and liability to our Nation, and any attempt to present the interests of the West or to discuss policies relating to the conservation of the Nation's resources or the development of the resources of the West provoked bitter criticism. There were some who felt that most of the territory lying west of central Nebraska was valueless, and that those who resided in the western part of the United States were suffering from an incurable mania growing out of bimetallism. There were many in the

National Legislature and in high positions in our land who could not see that all the States were linked together and that whatever brought prosperity and development to one section of our Nation added to the general advancement of the entire country.

When I entered the House Senator NEWLANDS was attempting to secure legislation for the reclamation of the arid lands of the Nation. He had given profounder thought to irrigation problems, to the questions connected with opening up and settling the public lands, the impounding of the waters found at the sources of our great rivers, the question of preserving the Nation's forests, and the general question of conservation than any other man in public life. In dealing with these and related questions he was easily supreme. He studied these problems, not as mere local questions, but in their national aspect, and as they affected the future growth, development, and prosperity of the entire people of our land.

At that time I was honored with his friendship and confidence, and I am happy to say that the friendship then formed continued without interruption until he passed from our midst. I was frequently called into conferences which he held concerning the great reclamation bill and other legislative measures with which he was identified; and it was my privilege to be permitted to cast the deciding vote which first reported the Newlands reclamation bill from the committee to the House of Representatives. In the sessions of the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, at which time I was intimately associated with Senator NEWLANDS, he not only gave earnest attention to the questions to which I have just referred but he was deeply interested in all matters affecting our Nation's welfare.

I recall that in the Fifty-fifth Congress Senator NEWLANDS offered a resolution in the House for the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. He believed, with Seward, that

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the Pacific Ocean would become the theater upon which our Nation would play a most conspicuous part. I remember his sagacious remarks concerning oriental trade questions and the sound statesmanlike views which he frequently enunciated concerning the future relations between the United States and China and Japan. He appreciated the fact that with the progress of civilization nations would be drawn closer together, and that there must be more toleration and sympathy between nations. He believed that our Nation should possess a strong Navy, and that the important part which our country would take in the Pacific Ocean required that we should have a strong naval base in the Hawaiian Islands. He loved peace and desired that the policies of our Nation should be so just as to command the respect and admiration of all other nations, but he comprehended that there were nations that were selfish and ambitious, and that to secure our rights and protect our national honor it was essential that our Navy should be brought to a high stage of perfection.

Perhaps no man in our country had so great a grasp of the intricate questions involved in transportation problems as did Senator NEWLANDS. In his able addresses he showed the intimate relation between transportation and material prosperity. He challenged attention to the discriminations under which certain sections of our country labored at the hands of the great transportation companies of the land. He sought to improve the condition of our railroads and mitigate the evils and burdens, unjust and unnecessary, to which the railroad companies were subjected; to unify in a proper way, without destroying competition, the railroad systems of our land; to effectuate reductions in freight rates, and to secure a beneficent and just control over public utilities that would prove of advantage to the people as well as to the investors in the stocks and bonds of transportation corporations.

He had large plans in process of development which would have, in my opinion, resulted in the greatest good to the people of our land, not alone the general public but those who owned the railroads and the stocks and securities of the same. It was a great misfortune that this masterful man should have been called from our midst at the moment when the transportation question was one of the most important and far-reaching questions presented for determination by this Nation.

The Senator from Nevada [Mr. Pittman] has referred to his activity in behalf of bimetallism and related financial questions. He was deeply grounded in financial questions and was one of the ablest exponents of the quantitative theory of money. His views upon this question were misunderstood by many, but it is sufficient to state at this time that he dealt with the money question in a broad, comprehensive, and scientific way.

After he left the House of Representatives I followed the career of this distinguished man with very great interest. He grew with the passing years until he became a national figure, a statesman of commanding ability. In the Senate, as in the House, he took a conspicuous part and was the proponent of measures of the greatest magnitude and of far-reaching importance to our country. My regard for Senator NEWLANDS was so great and my confidence in his ability and statesmanship so strong that early in the year of 1912, when Democrats were casting about for a candidate for the Presidency, I reached the conclusion, after mature deliberation, that Senator NEWLANDS measured up to the most exacting demand and was an available candidate for that high office. I accordingly wrote him and urged that he become a candidate for the Presidency. I felt that no man in the Democratic Party was better equipped for the position than he was. His great knowledge of our domestic problems, his long and faithful public service, his great intellectual and moral

qualities, marked him, in my opinion, as the most suitable candidate for his party to select. His reply was characteristic of the man. I felt then, as I have felt upon other occasions, that Senator NEWLANDS was too modest and too unpretentious. I might say, in passing, that he was always democratic, gentle, and chivalrous in his relations with his fellows.

When Germany's violations of international law and the rights of our Nation no longer could be tolerated and our Nation recognized a state of war as existing between it and the Imperial Government of Germany he patriotically supported every measure necessary to prepare our country for the conflict. For some time prior to the declaration of war his keen vision had enabled him to see that war was inevitable. There were no lamentations from him because of the war. There was a stern determination upon his part that our country should mobilize her resources and prepare in a most thorough and effective way to strike relentlessly until Prussian autocracy was destroyed and a just and righteous peace secured.

Senators will recall his infrequent but earnest speeches following the entrance of our country into the conflict and the sound advice which he gave concerning the policies which should be pursued in order that our resources might be conserved and all of the power of our Nation concentrated for the winning of the war. I remember the warnings which he gave to capital and to some of the great corporations of our country that were profiteering out of the war. He adjured them, as well as all others, to patriotically serve our country, and warned those who were securing great profits from the war of the inevitable results which would follow, and particularly in the circles of labor. He was always a "watchman upon the tower." He saw the first glimpse of the morning and he was among the first to grasp the dangers that menaced our country from without as well as from within. The immediate

questions involved in this great conflict did not close his eyes to the mighty questions with which this Nation and other nations will be compelled to grapple when this titanic contest is ended. I recall many conversations with him in which he expressed in a clear and comprehensive way some of the complex situations which we would be compelled to meet in the near future. I learned from him but a short time prior to his death that he was working out the problem of transportation, national and international, following the war. He was maturing plans to increase and secure our foreign trade, to procure the raw materials which our country would require in order that it might continue to be a great manufacturing Nation. He had dreams of this Republic becoming the great commercial and financial mart of the world, and if he had lived his pen would have drawn many of the important measures so necessary to enable our country to take and maintain her proper station among the nations of the world.

Senator NEWLANDS brought into public life a well-trained mind, enriched with a knowledge of the political, economical, and industrial questions affecting our country, and with that broad vision which is found in every great leader and which must exist in every statesman. It was said by a great prophet that "where there is no vision the people perish." The truth of this statement finds exemplification in all generations and in all lands. The multitude keep their eyes upon the ground, upon the trivial and petty things of life, and many who are raised to position and power act with selfishness and for personal or party ends instead of for the public weal. They have no vision, no prophetic gift, no power to "dip into the future," and their plans and policies and programs bring confusion and discord and ultimate hurt to the people. A State or nation is blessed when there comes to it a man of vision, a man of high ideals, and of spiritual power. Great men carry the world upon their shoulders. Each becomes a

fabled Atlas, and on his bowed back humanity moves forward to higher ground and greater achievements.

The struggle is always on between the spiritual and progressive forces and dark and gross materialism. The mass of the world have always been content to follow the prophet of to-day rather than the one who spoke for the morrow. We find it easier to plan for to-day than to build for the morrow. It is a long way from self to unselfishness, from self-service to service for others; and so, in the field of national concerns, we find too many engaged in limited and narrow circles, without vision or capacity or desire to comprehend the future. It is so easy to be local and provincial; to see the narrow field where the landscape and the horizon meet. Only men whose eyes are anointed by the Infinite One and whose hearts respond to the thrilling force which He sets in motion can look with unblanched cheek into the future and read its riddles and with prophetic power lead, as an evangel, the struggling masses of the world. Fortunate, as I stated, is the generation or the State that can have leaders of this character, men in public place to strike from the necks of the people the chains of narrow and sordid provincialism and point the way to national vigor and national progress and moral and spiritual evolution. There is no line of cleavage between the moral, ethical, and spiritual forces which underlie an indestructible Christianity and the forces and influences which lead to human progress and the growth of liberty in the governments of men. In other words, if justice and righteousness and high ethical concepts and spiritual forces and power find expression in the faith of Christ, these same influences, forces, and powers should be manifest in the conduct and activities of men and in their relations with each other, whether of a business or social character or whether relating to political and governmental questions.

So if vision is necessary in religion it is necessary in the perplexing questions affecting life and the confusing and bewildering problems relating to our economic, industrial, and political life. "Without vision the people will perish"; they will perish religiously; atrophy will overtake them spiritually; they will perish industrially and politically. In proportion as we have leaders of vision and follow them our progress will be assured. Thank God for leaders who have vision, statesmen who can see beyond some local lines and comprehend the problems of the Nation and the questions that are international. This age calls for men who not only think nationally but internationally.

And such an one was our beloved friend who has gone from our midst. He was a big man, who dealt with big things in a big way. There was nothing petty or mean in his soul. In all of my relations with him I never heard him utter a trivial or commonplace remark. His active mind was constantly engaged in the contemplation of important measures relating to our country and to the world. It is given to some men to have only a fleeting vision of a great project or to have borne in upon their hearts some great idea. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS lived in the atmosphere of great ideas and great ideals, and he had visions of many great projects, policies, and truths which guided him in his noble and exalted aims. When he thought of his State it was to regard it as a sovereign nation with a great mission and with great responsibilities resting upon it. When he thought of the Nation which he loved so well it was to regard it as the great political and moral guide to the world, and he believed that the democratic forces of our country would lead this Nation to glorious heights and evolve moral and spiritual forces which would enlighten all nations. He exemplified in high degree the words of Lord Bacon wherein he says:

It is a great error and a narrowness of the mind to think that nations have nothing to do one with another except there be

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either an union in sovereignty or a conjunction in pacts or leagues; there are other bands of society and implicit confederations.

Mr. President, FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS was an intensely patriotic man. He loved his country with a passion and devotion that few men possess. He was always planning for its development and progress and for its future. No mere temporary expedient satisfied him. Legislation to command his support must be comprehensive, general, and fundamentally sound. He was analytical and philosophical. He believed that there was law and unity pervading life and man's activities.

He was not a pessimist. He believed the world was growing better, and as the years were lost in the centuries the world would grow better and liberty and progress would crown all nations and all peoples. To him there was no death. There was life everywhere, and humanity to him was one living stream the source of which was in God and the end of which could only be found in the Eternal and Omnipotent Power which guides all things. With such views he could not be other than intellectually honest, which can not be said of all men in public places. It was impossible for him to reason in a circle. He saw the objective and with steady eye and courageous heart he went with unerring step.

Senator NEWLANDS was a courageous man. There was not a drop of the coward's blood in his body. With a courtliness that few possess he met his adversaries. He was just and tolerant to his opponents, but he did not hesitate to denounce injustice and to unmask heresy and lies, no matter by whom they were cloaked or who were their protagonists. Whatever he believed he believed with all his heart. If an idea took possession of his soul and he believed that it was right, he became a crusader in its propagation. He was patient, persevering, relentless in the pursuit of any cause which he espoused.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

Senator NEWLANDS, as I have stated, was a man of high ideals. Whatever appeared to him to be unjust or immoral or not in consonance with the spiritual teachings of a great Christian people met with his stern disapproval. He was not a Pharisee, nor did he make frequent proclamation of his religious views, but he had a profound belief in God, a living faith in the immortality of the soul, and a sincere regard for the great spiritual forces which animate and control the world.

Mr. President, the life and the death of this great man bring convincing proof of the immortality of the soul. It is impossible to believe that the mind and soul and being that could conceive the great thoughts to which our deceased friend gave expression, and comprehend the vital and spiritual forces which found expression in his life, should perish. If there is persistence of force, there is persistence of life; and the great soul of our loved friend still lives, mingling with the just and actively engaged in service which contributes to the accomplishment of the purposes of the Everlasting Father.

He left us at a time when great problems pressed for solution. This hour calls for giants. We shall miss him in this hour and in the days pregnant with mighty events that are immediately before us. We feel that in his death we suffer an irreparable loss. God grant that to others may be given something of the genius and gifts and powers so richly possessed by him. His life was rich in good deeds and in great achievements, and he has left a patrimony to his State and to the Nation that enriches us all. We will go from this memorial service with higher purpose and resolve to serve our country and humanity, and endeavor from his life and his glorious service to obtain that inspiration which will lead us, falteringly, indeed, in his footsteps to that high plane which he trod and into the field where he rendered such rich and profitable service.

ADDRESS OF MR. PHELAN, OF CALIFORNIA

MR. PRESIDENT: Death has been very busy in this body; and the transitory character of human affairs has been brought home to us in unexpected ways.

When the great statesman, Edmund Burke, felt the poignancy of domestic grief, in the midst of his labors, with introspective glance, he said: "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!" If we thought only of the inevitable end we would become morbid and constantly have in mind that thought of Burke, "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!" But it is in human nature to be hopeful and optimistic. Normal men do not ordinarily dwell upon mortality; and it is well that it is so, because, as it has been observed, no development is possible to the individual and no progress is possible to the race where the power of death to destroy life is not conquered in thought and feeling. Therefore we go on our accustomed way; the ranks which have been depleted are filled; and we pause, as to-day, to express our sorrow for the death of our beloved colleague, feeling our duty done.

He might have prolonged his years, as many another Senator, by avoiding the strenuous character of public life and retiring before his appointed time; but among brave and valorous men there is never a disposition to leave the scene of conflict. They prefer to die fighting. The Empress Theodora said, when she was admonished that her duties led inevitably to a premature end, that "the throne is a glorious sepulcher." The Senate is a glorious sepulcher. Men who die in the service of the State, men who yield all that is mortal while serving in the Senate of the United States, go out gloriously. They

might have saved a few years of their lives by retiring and eke out a feeble existence leading to the inevitable end; but no! Instinctively and consciously they remain in the public service and go down fighting. And so, since death must come to all, it is well that our colleague should die in the midst of his labors and in the fullness of his fame.

It fell to my lot to be with him on the last day. He was my neighbor and friend. We were bound together by those endearing ties of our common western citizenship and by associations growing out of our residence in the city of San Francisco as well as in the city of Washington. In our club on the very day of his death I found him in his usual good spirits and apparent health. We sat down at a small table together and had lunch and discussed questions of life and death, prompted by his indisposition, which then seemed trivial, and we discussed current and pending legislation. Foremost, I remember, in his mind was the solution of the railroad problem, and he was waiting to hear what determination should be arrived at by the President, before whom he had laid the facts. It is a regret to recall that he died before the solution of that question had been made. Public control was declared by the President on the very day of his obsequies. But the labor, the thought, and the anxious hours that he gave to a consideration of that and other public questions no doubt brought about his untimely end, because when I observed that he looked well and inquired about his general health he said that he had never felt better in his life than when he rose that morning. But his vitality had been undermined. When I suggested that he must be suffering from some passing ailment he said, "No; it is more than that; a near relative has just died of heart trouble, and I feel that my affliction is of the heart." Then he showed by his expressed feelings that he was suffering a sense of suffocation. So that fatal clot of blood

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was working his destruction, although he bore all the appearance of health and vigor.

As I sailed by with colors flying,
You would not know that I was dying.

He consulted a doctor, who reassured him, doubtless, because he returned to the club, but after going home that night he died.

The Senate has been informed about the particulars of his career; how he was born in the South, educated in the East, and cast his destinies in California and in Nevada.

California and Nevada are closely allied. The great mountains that stand between them are the glory and pride of both States. The beautiful Lake Tahoe, seated on the mountain crest, is the common possession of Nevada and of California. Senator NEWLANDS was as much a Californian as he was a Nevadan. California may be said to have given Senator NEWLANDS to Nevada just as she had given in another generation Senator Baker to Oregon. We claim as ours the fame of these great men and hold them as dearly as do the Commonwealths that particularly honored them by elevating them to the Senate of the United States.

But what made Senator NEWLANDS in this body a unique figure? He was not a practical politician. But he was a man endowed with vision. He served an ideal. He could see and did see very much further than the average of his colleagues, and he wrought for the future, that future which could not reward him, as he wrought for this disfranchised city of Washington with all the zeal which too often only signalizes, in other fields, the pure selfishness of man.

He saw the great West with the poet's eye and he saw the possibility of reclaiming it. To draw no invidious comparison, Daniel Webster, practical statesman, saw the great West with its trackless prairies, its forbidding

deserts, impassable mountain ranges, and torrential streams, and he said we can never take in that territory as a part of the Union; it is too difficult to reclaim and too remote to govern; and he expressed the hope that an empire some day should be set up in the far West which would maintain amicable relations with the Federal Government. That great man, Daniel Webster, who hoped that his eyes would not look, in the final hour, upon broken and dismantled fragments of a glorious Union, could not in a constructive way see the policy and the possibility of bringing together plain and mountain and desert and erecting a State worthy of admission into that Union which he so much loved. But Senator NEWLANDS saw this, and the Newlands Act, of which we have heard, is perhaps the greatest monument to his fame.

Then he turned from the reclamation of the desert, by putting water upon it, to the control in other regions of the mountain streams where water, getting away from control, devastated great areas. Water, like fire, is an excellent servant but a very bad master.

In doing these things, accomplishing such comprehensive results, he did not seek to impose any burdens upon the common country which would indubitably benefit in the largest possible way by the reclamation of waste lands suitable for human habitation. Nations go to war at the cost of millions of lives and millions of treasure to acquire territory, but the Senator saw the territory we needed within our own confines, and to spend money upon it to redeem it was a higher and a better method of enlarging our arable domain for the benefit of the people, and so he became a constructive legislator.

But even then he provided a fund which was to be known as a revolving fund—that is, in the first instance, the Government would put the land by a large outlay under water, and the beneficiary, holding the land, would over a long period of years return the money to the fund, and the fund then would be available for further projects.

When he came before the Senate to ask within my time for \$600,000,000 to check the ravages, particularly of the Mississippi River, which came down from its mountain fastnesses like a bandit, ravaging fertile valleys below, the Senate looked upon him as a visionary, in an incredulous way, surprised at the magnitude of the amount; but they had to listen to him week after week on the necessity of such a work to save the lands threatened by destruction, and furthermore on the pressing need of coordination in order to get the maximum of service out of the departments and the bureaus. Senator NEWLANDS'S discussion of "coordination" became almost a byword, and yet, justifying him again, as he has been justified in all his public acts by time, he had been gone but a short space when in this crisis we found it necessary to give the President power, in order to prevent duplication and waste, for that coordination for which the Senator pleaded so eloquently on this floor. He did not have the rough ways, he did not have, perhaps, the persuasive power to immediately carry his project, cajoling his colleagues by one specious method or another, but he had the quality of perseverance and he kept talking upon his subject until he commanded a hearing.

While it is true he did not get the whole amount for the purpose of restraining devastating streams, he did get a substantial appropriation for the purpose of determining exactly how these great evils should be righted, how the great damage should be averted, and how the people of the interior valleys of this country could live in security and reap the rewards of their labor.

He felt for the men who worked; he kept apace sympathetically with the industrial evolution of the times as no other man, and his heart went out to those who were handicapped by fortune in the daily struggle on every side, but the result of whose combined labors, he be-

lieved, made the national wealth and the national greatness.

His heart and mind in full accord were moved by what he knew and saw and felt.

'Tis hard to sow in spring and not to reap
The autumn's yield;
'Tis hard to till and when tilled to weep
The fruitless field!

I have heard him in the presence of the President tell of the unrewarded labor of the pioneers of the West. He said—and he was capable of demonstrating it—that all the money spent by individuals, not counting their time wasted, in exploration and discovery of the precious metals was far in excess of the yield by the mines of the West; and if the Federal Government had out of its Treasury from the beginning pursued that policy of development on its own account for that same reason its expenditures would have been far in excess of the return.

So he pleaded for consideration for the man who was willing to take his chance in the difficult places of the earth and discover the presence of the minerals, and then by labor and enterprise, although he himself may be lost, unknown to fame, and unrewarded, make the Nation his debtor by revealing the treasures otherwise hidden from human ken.

But what appealed to me very strongly in observing the course of the Senator in this body was his love of the beautiful. It is not common in legislative bodies nor among the mass of the people to find any great devotion to art. Our art seems to be reserved for a select few and we depend upon the leaders in the great moral, spiritual, and artistic movements to command a following and achieve results.

The city of Washington, planned by L'Enfant, is perfect in conception, and only where L'Enfant's designs have

failed of execution by a subsequent generation has Washington been marred. It is the constant surprise of newcomers that the city remains so beautiful; but it is due only and wholly to the vigilance of such idealists as Senator NEWLANDS. Plato said that children should not be allowed to grow up amid the images of evil, lest their souls simulate the ugliness of their surroundings, and I could appropriately paraphrase our great American sculptor, W. W. Story, when he said:

Is this the stately form I saw
In Greece a thousand years ago,
Who ruled the world by Beauty's law
And used among the gods to go?
Now scant in garb a mendicant,
She stretches forth her tearful palms,
And Congress in pity for her want,
Contemptuous, tosses her its alms!

That is the spirit in which Congress has conserved the beauty of the Capital. When the invading bands of a heedless commerce, for the purpose of saving money and sacrificing art, sought to construct smokestacks under the very monument of Washington in the Mall it was the Senator from Nevada who persistently arraigned those who attempted this perpetration. He had behind him the American Institute of Architects and the Commission of Fine Arts, whose approval he demanded from a self-sufficient Congress on all occasions before public monuments and public buildings were constructed within the sacred precincts of this District.

Loving art and in a most practical way defending art, meeting every obstruction that might be put in the path of the accomplishment of Washington's dream and L'Enfant's plan, he valiantly on more than one occasion saved the city. I know the people of Washington appreciate his service. I know that artists have enshrined his name.

So he is tied to the West and to the East by the indissoluble bonds of affection. Nature and art mourn his loss.

So long as the desert yields to the will of men and engineering skill restrains the mountain torrents to create homes for the helpless and promote happiness in the reclaimed regions of the West; so long as Beauty sits enthroned by the Golden Gate—because his labors there were just as efficacious as here—or by the shores of the Potomac; so long as the snows upon the Sierra Nevadas look down upon the sister States, affording sustenance to field and farm; so long as friendship remains, binding heart to heart, this beloved and lamented Senator shall not be forgotten.

In our conversation that fateful day he said he felt that upon him was a grave crisis and could not expect immunity because he had attained, he said, nearly 70 years.

Edwin Arnold, pessimistic, with his heathen philosophy upon his lips, had written—

This life of man so pleasant
Run it not to waste and woeful finishing
In time's dry sands.

But I think the Senator, if he were consulted, in the words of his poet-friend, Edward Robeson Taylor, of San Francisco, would rather say:

Death take my body, it has served me well,
Nor do I now begrudge thy longed-for dole;
But to thy very face dare this I tell:
Thou shall not have the treasure of my soul!

His pure spirit, pure and untrammelled, has, let us believe, taken its heavenly flight, but he will also enjoy, I am convinced, an earthly immortality not only in the pages of the history of the West and of his country but in the loving hearts of his friends and his colleagues and his countrymen.

ADDRESS OF MR. SHAFROTH, OF COLORADO

Mr. PRESIDENT: In the fall of 1891 I was in Salt Lake City, Utah, on law business and noticed in the morning newspaper that an irrigation congress was to be held there that day. I concluded that I would attend the opening exercises, and there I met for the first time Mr. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, who was the leading spirit in the sessions of the congress. Mr. NEWLANDS was then a thin, delicate-appearing man, but he made a speech that was one of the most remarkable I had ever heard on the need, indeed the necessity, of irrigation for the arid West. It was there that I learned, perhaps for the first time, the reason why the soil of the arid West is so fertile; why it is that no fertilizer is needed and will not be needed for many years; that in the aridity of that region is contained the compensating advantage of fertility. That was one of the features of his speech that impressed me very much.

In the East, where there is more rainfall, of course the washings of the ages upon the soil have dissipated its fertility. All soil is nothing but disintegrated rock, and it is necessary to preserve the mineral salts in that soil in order to retain its fertility. The arid condition of the Great American Desert has been the principal factor that has preserved the fertility of the soil in that great expanse of territory and saved it for these later ages, to be brought to a condition which can produce crops in more abundant quantity and of better quality than those which any other soil can produce. By reason of excessive rains in other portions of the country, which melt and dissipate the mineral salts, the fertility which is the basis of great and excellent production is wasted. It therefore becomes necessary to supply fertilizers in those sections.

Knowing that the region west of the one hundredth meridian, which passes through the State of Kansas, needed

only the aid of irrigation, FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS applied himself to a solution of the great problem that was to be one of the remarkable achievements in a career which he at that time marked out for himself. He made his beginning in his speech in favor of the irrigation of that vast extent of territory that should supply millions and millions of people with food and afford homes for yet other millions on which to live prosperous and happy lives.

At that time Mr. NEWLANDS was not in office, but it was then stated to me—for his speech made a lasting impression upon every person who heard him—that he expected to run for Congress and no doubt would be elected. The next year he was a candidate for Congress and was elected by an overwhelming majority. When he came to Washington he began his work in an attempt to get Government assistance for the reclamation of the arid lands of the West. He followed up his effort by speeches in the House of Representatives and in many conferences and many conventions which he attended. Two years after that I was elected to the House of Representatives and, having met him at Salt Lake City, renewed my acquaintance with him and assisted him in every way that I could in getting his projects, his bills, his ideas concerning reclamation indorsed by the Congress.

After some years it was deemed advisable by the western Senators and Representatives to appoint a committee of 17 Members, consisting of one from each of the 17 arid States and Territories, to draft a bill that would be acceptable to the Senate and the House of Representatives. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, at that time still a Member of the other House, represented the State of Nevada and I happened to represent the State of Colorado on that committee. We met at night and we devoted probably a period of six weeks to formulating the bill and reconciling the various differences of opinion in reference to

it, but the leading spirit of that committee was FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS. While he differed in some respects upon some of the points that were made by other members of the committee, he, nevertheless, was possessed of that spirit of amiability and of fairness which prompted him always to concede merit in the contention of others. When it came to name the man who should introduce the bill in the House of Representatives I had the honor of moving that Mr. NEWLANDS be named as the one to do so, which was agreed to, and he introduced the bill. That bill thereafter became an important subject of discussion in the Congress.

Nearly all of the parliamentarians of the House of Representatives were against the passage of the bill; all of the leaders, it might be said, of the House were opposed to it. Dire predictions were made of its total failure and arguments on the impropriety of the Government going into the field of business were vigorously urged. There was a parliamentary filibuster, as it might be termed, started against the measure. For some reason or other, in the bringing in of the rule for consideration of the bill the hour of 5 o'clock in the afternoon was fixed as the time when its consideration should cease if a vote had not then been taken. It was rather a singular order, and it was thought by some of us that it had been imposed with the purpose of letting the hour of 5 o'clock come during debate and then of relegating the bill to the calendar, with possibly but little chance of again getting it up for consideration at that session. It was near the close of the long session of Congress, and the short session is always crowded with work, so that a measure can hardly be supposed to have a chance of passage at a short session if there is strong objection to its consideration.

It became necessary to limit the debate on each amendment which was offered. Senator NEWLANDS and I had grown very intimate by that time and we frequently con-

ferred over plans for the bill's advancement. He was a very courteous, kindly man, and loath to offer motions to cut off debate. He therefore requested me to make the necessary motions in the attempt to limit debate on each amendment, so that we should certainly reach the end of the consideration and secure a determination of the measure by 5 o'clock in the afternoon. I did so, and I had to make many such motions; I had finally to move to limit the time of debate on amendments to a very few minutes; in fact, sometimes to three minutes. It was only at 10 minutes of 5 o'clock that the vote was ordered to be taken upon the bill. Senator NEWLANDS was present at all times, and was active in the endeavor to utilize every force and every particle of his influence in favor of the passage of the bill; and at last, when the Newlands bill was passed in the House of Representatives, it was regarded as one of the greatest achievements of that Congress, and, indeed, of many Congresses which had preceded it.

Mr. President, we all loved FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS. He was intimate, I believe, with every Member of this Chamber. He was always pleasant. He often told me that he thought that his good nature had prevented his getting consideration of some of his measures; that he ought, perhaps, to have used the weapon which is sometimes used of objecting to the consideration of other measures until his measure could be considered by the Senate; but his nature was too kindly to permit him to do so. He was always considerate of and most liberal in his attitude toward the opinions of others. I believe there was no Member of this body who did not sincerely grieve when he realized that FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS had expired.

Mr. President, we all honored him; we all appreciated his ability; we all recognized his greatness; and we know that he will be regarded as one of the greatest Senators who ever sat in this body from the West.

ADDRESS OF MR. RANDELL, OF LOUISIANA

MR. PRESIDENT: Two or three things attracted me to Senator NEWLANDS. He was born on the banks of the Mississippi River, in the city of Natchez, and my home is on the river about 120 miles north of that city. Senator NEWLANDS was greatly interested in questions relating to water in some form or other, and I have also during my public life always been intensely interested in the same subject.

The first thing that attracted me to him after I entered Congress in 1899 was his very enthusiastic and persistent advocacy of the Newlands reclamation bill, which had been under consideration for some time. He was not a man who went into anything half-heartedly, but was the most persistent man whom I have ever known in either House of Congress. When he undertook to advocate a measure he did so with his whole heart and soul; he did so with every appearance of having the utmost faith himself in it and with the determination to win.

There was a fellow feeling between the people of the West and myself in their efforts to secure the irrigation of their arid lands. They desired to put water on land which had none, whereas in my portion of Louisiana the people wished to restrain the floods of the mighty Mississippi River which swept down to the Gulf with the accumulated waters of 31 States, frequently bearing death to many persons and destruction to vast quantities of property. It seemed to me to be very natural that, as I desired the water kept from the lands of my State, I should aid the people of the West in their effort to put water on their arid lands, hence I early took an interest in Senator NEWLANDS and the great measure which he advocated so enthusiastically.

It was a long time before he could secure the passage of his bill. I well recall that the river and harbor bill, in which I was intensely interested, was talked to death

by Senator Carter of Montana because of its failure to carry an appropriation of about \$300,000 to irrigate some lands in the State of Montana. That was in the spring of 1901; and the great bill carried \$54,000,000 for improving the waterways of the Nation for purposes of navigation.

Within a year from that date the sentiment in favor of irrigation had grown materially, Senator NEWLANDS and other friends had been doing wonderful work, and President Roosevelt, the remarkable man who then occupied the White House, had sent to Congress the strongest kind of message in favor of general irrigation in the West. With the aid of that message, and of many representatives from the Mississippi Valley, Senator NEWLANDS succeeded in passing his great reclamation act, to my mind one of the most magnificent pieces of constructive legislation passed by Congress during the 19 years of my service—a measure under which over \$100,000,000 has been expended, which has made not two blades of grass to grow where none grew before but wonderful crops, beneficial to the whole Union, on millions of acres of land that were entirely arid before, and initiating a program which is going to result in the reclamation of a great many more millions of acres of land now utterly worthless because of the lack of life-giving water.

It was a wonderful conception, a marvelous accomplishment, and it is the greatest monument, in my judgment, to the memory of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS and the other western Representatives and Senators who worked so hard and so faithfully to secure its passage.

Another matter that caused me to take an interest in Senator NEWLANDS was his enthusiastic advocacy of flood control. That matter has been alluded to by one or two Senators who have preceded me, but it came home to me, Mr. President, as perhaps to no other Member of this body, for my own section of Louisiana has time and again been devastated by the Mississippi's floods. My State has

14,000 square miles of land subject to overflow when that great river breaks its bounds. There are 28,000 square miles of such land in the valley of the Mississippi, and great floods have often swept over that area, more fertile than the valley of the famous river Nile.

During his entire congressional career, at least since I have been a Member of Congress, which embraces a period of 19 years, Senator NEWLANDS was a friend of flood control. He had a great conception about it. He desired to control water in all its forms from the time it fell from the clouds until it evaporated and became a cloud again. His idea was that Congress should create a great waterways commission and give it money and authority to handle water for every purpose; to purify the streams in order that the water might conserve the best purposes of health and sanitation; to regulate the underground flow of water in order that agriculture might be benefited and improved; to regulate it so as to increase the growth of our forests; to drain the 77,000,000 acres of swamp lands in this country; 120,000 square miles of swamps, an area equal to two and a half times the total area of the State of Louisiana; to control floods in every part of the Nation, not alone on the Mississippi River but all over the Union; and his conception always took in the use of our internal waterways for purposes of navigation.

It also included the control of the mountain torrents for hydraulic power. He wished to harness this water and create an enormous quantity of valuable power. His plan was a big one. Years ago he introduced the first bill for the Newlands National Waterways Commission and sought to have Congress appropriate \$60,000,000 a year for 10 years—a total of \$600,000,000. Some day that sum will be appropriated; but the Senator looked further into the future than most of us, and I doubt if a dozen Senators agreed with him on the large appropriation to be carried in his bill. I for one disagreed with him on

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

it, but he finally persuaded the majority of the Senate to create the National Waterways Commission and arm it with the necessary money and power to make investigations and report upon all of the uses of water—appropriations for same to be made hereafter if the reports are approved. Every legitimate and proper use of water is to be studied and reported upon by this great commission, which was provided for in the river and harbor act of last year. It was an herculean task to persuade Congress to agree to the creation of that commission, and it gives me much satisfaction to recall that I aided Senator NEWLANDS therein to the best of my ability. The Senator did not live to see the commission actually appointed. Its members have not yet been named. I presume the President has been so engaged by his duties in connection with the war that he has not found time to select the seven strong men for this truly great commission; but they will be appointed some day, and will evolve plans to be presented to Congress that, in my judgment, will result in very beneficial laws, which, in turn, will become other great monuments to the memory of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

Mr. President, I knew the Senator well. Though I differed with him on some subjects, I admired his ability greatly, and I was much pained and shocked when I heard of his untimely death.

One of the best friends and greatest admirers of Senator NEWLANDS was Mr. F. H. Newell, for a long time head of the Reclamation Service and now chief of the department of civil engineering in the University of Illinois. Prof. Newell has sent me a brief statement in regard to the Senator, with which I will conclude my remarks by reading:

FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS.

Senator NEWLANDS remains in the memory of his friends a man at all times courteous and considerate of others, whether Senators or servants. With his strong, decided views on many

ADDRESS OF MR. RANDELL, OF LOUISIANA

points he necessarily differed from many of those about him, but in his intercourse or reference to his opponents he preserved a rare degree of consideration for them. In spite of the difficulties, embarrassments, and petty annoyances which make up the life of an active business man and Senator he maintained his characteristic poise, meeting all situations with his rare sense of humor.

As a statesman his chief characteristic was that of the breadth of his views and his grasp of national and international relations. He was a man of vision without being visionary. His thoughts were not bounded by civil divisions, but included the whole United States and its relation with other countries. He looked far ahead and discussed the needs of legislation so much in advance of his colleagues that one of them jokingly said: "Whenever we want to find out about a subject now being discussed we look up what NEWLANDS said concerning it 10 years ago."

Thus it was with the reclamation act, which is forever connected with his name. He worked for this ideal even before coming to Congress and endeavored to persuade the State of Nevada to take the lead. Failing in this he, as Representative from Nevada, drafted many bills providing for the reclamation of the arid west; in season and out with rare persistence and tact he kept continually forward the conception that it was the duty of the Nation as the proprietor of unutilized but valuable lands to make these available for homes. He attracted to the support of these measures other men both in and out of Congress and presented his ideas so clearly and persistently that they could not fail to be adopted.

Senator NEWLANDS seemed never to tire, but displayed a most unusual persistency in his advocacy of large ideals and measures such as those embodied in part in the reclamation act. This had no sooner passed into law and become effective than he took up and urged year after year the continuation of similar principles which involved a higher degree of cooperation and coordination of governmental functions in developing and utilizing other resources in the United States. At the time of his death he was still urging action which would extend to other parts of the country some of the benefits of water conservation, flood protection, and development of power such as were in part covered by the reclamation act. The country as a whole lost in his death the activity of one of the most unselfish and yet persistent advocates of internal development.

ADDRESS OF MR. THOMAS, OF COLORADO

MR. PRESIDENT: I was acquainted with Senator NEWLANDS during the last 25 years of his life. I met him at the convention of 1892 in the city of Chicago. My subsequent relations with him were intimate and cordial. I was not in Washington when he died. The news of his demise reached me through the press dispatches. I was not even aware that he was ill when I learned that he was dead.

During my membership in this body our acquaintance ripened into a close and intimate friendship. Naturally I saw much more of him than before, and I learned to appreciate him, not only as a fellow legislator but as a companion in all that the term implies. His death was a great shock to me and I could not but reflect how many Members and former Members of this body had passed away during the short term of my service in it. I have had frequent occasion since then to indulge in the same reflection, for the hand of death has been busy in this body since it convened on the 2d day of April, 1917. Ten of our Members have gone to their long home. Who will next be called we do not know, but I am sure that if it can be said of him, as it can be said of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, that his life was an open book, and his work an earnest of his devotion to his country, he will not have lived in vain.

Senator NEWLANDS possessed in high degree two fundamental qualities of statesmanship—the one, perseverance; the other, imagination. The union of these in a man bent upon the accomplishment of a given object makes him a strong force for its ultimate accomplishment. He believed thoroughly in this Republic, and loved the West

with a passionate devotion. It was the mainspring of his efforts for western development.

Senator NEWLANDS was a national representative. He was a statesman in the broadest sense. We are too prone, as Members of the Congress of the United States, to regard ourselves more as the representatives of the political divisions which choose and send us here. We are too apt to exalt the wants, prejudices, preferences, and selfishness of our immediate constituencies above the calls and requirements of national duty. Hence it is reassuring to find in such surroundings a man of broad national views like Senator NEWLANDS, who regarded his duty always as first to the Nation, yet loyal to his State.

It has been said that a sense of duty arises from a consciousness of public responsibility. His consciousness of public responsibility was always present with Senator NEWLANDS and the dominant note in all of the utterances which he made upon this floor when speaking to some great measure pending before it.

He had also the element of moral courage—a quality greatly needed in public life, and, unfortunately, all too rare in this hour of the Nation's crisis. He did not act impulsively, but only after due and careful deliberation. Having resolved upon a course he could not be dissuaded from it. He was not a Titan, striking sledge-hammer blows in behalf or in defense of his purpose. His power was rather that of the sunshine. Its constant play upon the forces of the opposition sometimes slowly but always surely overcame opposition or tended to the accomplishment of his objects.

His disposition was singularly sweet and attractive. I have seen him occasionally lose his temper when under great provocation. I never knew him to remain out of humor 10 minutes at any time. He could not be an enemy, because he could not carry malice long enough to provoke resentment. He won his way through the world by a

genial disposition, an excellent temper, a quiet but overwhelming determination, and a thorough acquaintance with every subject which engaged his energies. He is gone, Mr. President. His death has left a void among us which can not soon be filled. As we mourn his loss we pay tribute to all that he did and all that he desired. Let us hope that "when," in Tyndall's phrase, "we shall like streaks of morning cloud have melted into the infinite azure of the past," the same may be said in small measure of ourselves.

ADDRESS OF MR. CUMMINS, OF IOWA

MR. PRESIDENT: I very deeply regret that absence from Washington made it impossible for me to be in the Chamber during the entire memorial services.

I shall not attempt to express, even measurably, my sense of the overpowering loss which, as an individual, I sustained in the death of Senator NEWLANDS. We were close, intimate friends, and I entertained for him an affection which during my whole life I have felt for few, very few men. We were companions in so many conferences and discussions upon public affairs that it is difficult for me to realize that never again am I to experience the joy of his delightful presence, the warmth of his gracious personality, and the strength of his wise and exalted counsel. In all the wide range of the subjects in which we were so vitally interested no man ever helped me more than this sound-hearted, broad-minded, highly-cultured, well-trained student of political economy. To the end of my days I shall gratefully remember his exceeding kindness, his fine inspiration, his wonderful fellowship, and his earnest, though tolerant, leadership. I shall never cease to mourn the fate which carried him from our world to the rewards of the future at the very climax of his usefulness and power.

My chief, indeed my only, purpose upon this occasion is to record in an enduring way my estimate of his service as a Senator of the United States and of the value of the heritage which he has bequeathed to us and to all who are to follow us.

My acquaintance with Senator NEWLANDS began in the early years of the last decade, when he, as Senator and member of the Waterways Commission, and I, as governor of Iowa, came together in an effort to advance the

movement for water transportation. He had been long engaged in the work. I was a stranger to it. He was familiar with every phase of the subject. I had yet to grasp its full significance and supreme importance. Comparisons are said to be odious, and I recognize that there have been and are many men whose contributions to this subject have been invaluable, but I am sure that I may be permitted to say without offense that in the persistency of his labor, in comprehension of the whole intricate problem, in the tremendous energy he expended in turning the country toward practical achievement, in the zeal with which he reiterated his well-matured views upon every proper occasion he rose high above all his fellows. It is in these and in kindred qualities that his greatness is to be found.

He was not a dreamer, but a man with vision, and he was always able to clothe his abundant imagination with the realities of development. He was a prophetic philosopher and could not only foretell in speech but could clearly see the course which the Nation must pursue to attain its ends. He loved to surround himself with pictures of things as they are to be, and they were as real to him as they will be to the generation before which they will rise up in form and substance.

How often have we heard him from his place in this forum with unflagging industry and noble eloquence appealing for the future—for the reclamation of our deserts; for the preservation of our forests; for the proper use of all our natural resources; for the regulated flow of our streams; for the construction of reservoirs to confine our waters in flood time; the straightening of channels; the protection of river banks; and the indissoluble union that must be established between land and water carriage, all to the one great purpose that every force capable of working in harmony should be invoked and the mighty volume of production be distributed through-

out the country easily, quickly, and cheaply. All these things will come, and are coming day after day; but he was one of those rare men who could visualize them as a complete whole even before their disjointed parts began their inevitable movement toward each other. We used to jest with him now and then about his frequent use of the word "coordinate," but we knew all the time that he employed it with the utmost discrimination and accuracy. The truth is that the word was not only frequently upon his lips but it was the keynote of his life. He perceived, as few of us do or can, the actual relation between the potentialities of nature and the activities of humanity. Most of us fail to grasp this vital kinship and lose the strength that ought to be summoned to achieve the desired result. With him it was instinctive, and in felicitous, faultless language he could marshal all the contributing factors until his hearers could see them converging to accomplish a common purpose. This was his coordination, and nothing truer or higher can be conceived by mortal man.

When I came to the Senate in 1908 Senator NEWLANDS was a leading member of the Committee on Interstate Commerce and soon became its ranking minority member. With the change in the political complexion of the Senate he rose to the chairmanship and continued as the head of the committee until his death. It happened that I was assigned to that committee, and shortly after the change in the administration I became the ranking minority member. I mention these things only to indicate the opportunity I had to know the qualities of his mind and the integrity of all his work.

This committee undertakes the consideration of all bills relating to our interstate commerce save those which affect the improvement of rivers and harbors. In times of peace the authority to regulate commerce among the States is the broadest and most important power granted

by the Constitution, and it was most fortunate that leadership upon such a subject was conferred upon a man so superbly fitted to guide and direct. He was diligent, watchful, and tactful; but that is saying little, for these are common characteristics. He was vastly more. He brought to the committee that wide knowledge and perfect understanding of the relation which the component parts of commerce bear to each other which I have mentioned with respect to other subjects. The regulation of our 250,000 miles of railway was his chief concern. While admitting that the interstate-commerce act and the Interstate Commerce Commission had done much to correct the wrongs and mistakes of transportation, his unerring vision detected the inherent and fundamental defects in the system. It was again an instance of want of coordination. Not for a moment did he hesitate in reaching down to the underlying causes of failure and in exposing them to the view of less analytical observers. He believed that adequate regulation could not be secured until all railway corporations were organized under the laws of the United States, and without entering into the detail of his marvelous plan it is enough to say that, under my observation, he gave 10 years of his life to the movement, and led it from the darkness of total obscurity and the weakness of almost universal opposition to the very point of general approval and acceptance. With the dawn of victory gladdening his weary eyes, the summons of the Master came.

Greatness is elusive and hard to define. No man is great in all things and few are great in anything.

The man who leaves behind him an indelible impress for good upon the world is a great man. The man who found his country wrong in any material thing and by his influence left it right was a great man.

In this rank I enroll FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS.

ADDRESS OF MR. HENDERSON, OF NEVADA

MR. PRESIDENT: The passing of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS came at a time when the State, and in large measure the Nation, could ill afford his loss.

Never before were the people of the United States and the Congress faced with problems affecting so directly every phase of our national life and our international relations, whose solution will shape the destiny of man for centuries.

The welfare of our present and future millions depends absolutely upon the decisions that must be reached in this Chamber. To the wise solution of these problems must be brought not only the wisdom and experience of the past but an ability to penetrate the future and judge its needs. This demands vision. Such vision had Washington; such vision had Lincoln; and such vision had he whom we miss and honor at this hour.

Had Senator NEWLANDS lived, his vision, his energies, and his talents would have been generously devoted to the great new work at hand, and his advice and counsel would have made straight and plain many of the paths that now seem dark and uncertain. But it is not to be given to us to measure what that service might have been, for he has taken his honored place among those who have served the Republic, and his name stands high upon the Nation's honor roll as one who foresaw and made wise provision for his country's development and welfare.

Now that the Book of Life is closed to him here, of how little moment it is where and when he was born, or from whence he sprang; of how little concern is a record

of his comings and goings and the events that marked his useful life of 69 years. His fame rests not on these, but will endure through his great works accomplished here; through his clear vision coupled with rare capacity for work which made him one of the great constructive statesmen of his time. He will live in the hearts of grateful millions as that great empire reaching from the watersheds of the Mississippi to the boundaries of California attains its highest development and fructifies because of the wise and beneficent plans of water storage and control and the irrigation and reclamation of arid lands so ably fostered and developed by him.

In reviewing the life work of Senator NEWLANDS, recalling many conversations had with him on the great problems to which he had addressed himself, there has repeatedly recurred to me the words and the vision of another great statesman, Edmund Burke, who said in his speech on conciliation:

Young man, there is America—which at this day serves for little more than to amuse you with stories of savage men and uncouth manners; yet shall, before you taste of death, show itself equal to the whole of that commerce which now attracts the envy of the world. Whatever England has been growing to by a progressive increase of improvement, brought in by varieties of people, by succession of civilizing conquests and civilizing settlements in a series of seventeen hundred years, you shall see as much added to her by America in the course of a single life! If this state of his country had been foretold to him, would it not require all the sanguine credulity of youth, and all the fervid glow of enthusiasm, to make him believe it? Fortunate man, he has lived to see it! Fortunate indeed if he lives to see nothing that shall vary the prospect and cloud the setting of his day!

Senator NEWLANDS had the same vision of Burke as to the future of America. And to him was given the privilege and the opportunity to make much of the dream of both come true.

His life spanned a period in the development of the United States of America in which greater progress was made in the work of controlling and utilizing the forces of nature for the benefit of mankind than had ever been made before in any period of human history.

When he was a youth the vast territory extending from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean was almost an unbroken wilderness, unpopulated and undeveloped. Through the ensuing years the part he took in its transformation is conspicuous and truly worthy.

From the beginning to the end of his public career, both as a Member of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, covering a period of 25 years, his dream of conquest was for the conquest of the deserts and their subjugation to the uses of mankind. To a large extent he lived to see the fulfillment of that dream. It is conceded by those familiar with the events leading up to the enactment of the United States reclamation act in June, 1902, that without his efforts in its behalf there would have been no such law, though no one could have been more generous than he in extending to his coadjutors in that great undertaking the fullest measure of credit and recognition. The reclamation act before its passage was known as the Newlands national irrigation bill. He suggested the plan of providing a revolving fund from the proceeds derived from public-land sales, and around the measure embodying this idea he organized the western Representatives solidly in its support. The success of the engineers of the Reclamation Service in the construction of the great engineering works built under the reclamation act was to him a source of never-failing gratification.

Great as was his work on reclamation, of more far-reaching import were his efforts on water control, centering largely on the Mississippi and its vast watershed.

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He was born at Natchez, Miss., on the banks of the great Father of Waters. Those were the days when the river was crowded with the splendid river steamers, which were a feature of the earlier development of transportation in this country.

It is an interesting fact that one of the greatest ambitions of his later years was a restoration of the rivers of the country to their rightful place as a part of a great coordinated system of rail and water transportation, and particularly that the Mississippi River, on the banks of which he was born, should again enjoy its rightful heritage as one of the greatest carriers of water-borne commerce in the world.

Looking backward he saw in his mind's eye that mighty river carrying on its bosom the crowded commerce of a vast inland territory, teeming with a life filled with events that stirred men's blood and with a romance that fascinated their minds.

Looking forward he saw the vision of that magnificent river harnessed and controlled; its floods conquered and made to do man's bidding, its depth standardized and flow regulated, its banks stabilized and lined with thriving communities, the gateways through which a rich and populous land, well named "The Sugar Bowl of the Continent," shall pour into the world's commerce its contributions to the needs of man.

Since Marquette first threaded the swamps of that river's valley and Ponce de Leon sought the fountain of youth along its lower reaches, the menace of devastating floods has hung like a pall over that region. The Ohio, the upper Mississippi, and the Missouri have poured their flood waters into the lower Mississippi without let or hindrance.

Looking forward, again, into the glass of the future he saw the floods prevented at their source; he saw the

freshet waters held back and absorbed into Mother Earth, our greatest reservoir, to nourish the growth and increase the fruitage of plants and trees; he saw the floods impounded in surface reservoirs and used to drive the power wheels for industry; he saw the source streams on all that vast watershed, comprising one-third of the entire area of the United States, regulated and controlled; he saw the time when floods shall be no more, and when the now wasted flood waters shall be proved to have been, as he so well characterized them, "the Nation's greatest asset"; he saw the channels of all the source streams which are now ranging torrents in winter and dry beds in summer changed to cool and beautiful perennial streams, flowing gently through deep pools, between banks overhung with verdure, and led out through myriads of ditches to carpet the fields with green and water the gardens around countless homes where men and women and their children shall have found a land of plenty.

It is not alone in the arid region that irrigation is a blessing. In the not distant future, in every State of the Union, millions of irrigated garden homes will contribute food for the family, and the Nation will be astonished at the yield from the magic touch of water. In the humid region supplemental irrigation is crop insurance and will prodigiously increase crop production. These are the benefits of source stream control and river regulation in which every farmer may participate, whether his farm be located on the prairies of the central West, among the hills of New England, in the Allegheny or Appalachian Valleys, or in the arid region.

His labors in this field of water conservation, water development, and water utilization were not limited to the West. He thought always as a national statesman, never as a local representative only. His vision of the national benefits from the control and use of water

covered every watershed in the United States and every use to which "the Nation's greatest asset," its unused waters, could be put. Not the least of these uses was navigation, and a great national network of waterways was the keystone of the arch of the system he proposed.

His efforts in this field culminated in a legislative measure known as the Newlands river-regulation bill. That bill provided a complete and comprehensive system for regulating the flow of all the rivers of the United States and all their source streams, through coordinating for teamwork, in place of the chaotic confusion that now exists, the Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce, in cooperation with the States and all local agencies, or, as he himself expressed it in the bill, "with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as may be undertaken by the United States, and to the States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portions as belong to their respective jurisdictions, rights, and interests."

The larger measure was summarized and epitomized in an amendment to the river and harbor bill which became a law on August 8, 1917, and has been known as the Newlands river-regulation amendment. The appointment of the commission created by this river-regulation amendment will practically bring to fruition the life work of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS in that field. It was his belief that the creation of that commission, not as a mere investigating commission but as a permanent coordinating commission, with a membership in sympathy with the broad and comprehensive purposes of the act, would insure to the people of the country the far-reaching benefits contemplated in the original bill as fast as the work of construction can be practically carried forward. Every great structure built in the future through the work of that

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commission will stand as an enduring monument to the life work of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

While water conservation is perhaps the most conspicuous achievement of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, it by no means marks the limit of his accomplishments as a national legislator. He took an active part in many matters of national importance. It may be said of him that throughout his long career in Congress there was hardly an important subject that had not the benefit of his intelligence, his judgment, and his powers.

Senator NEWLANDS's quarter of a century of service in Congress was marked by unremitting study, which took him deep into the fundamentals of the various phases of the legislation he sought to develop, by tireless energy, and finally by high accomplishment. As has been well said before, any one of several of his efforts was great enough to have been the great life work of a great man. He fairly earned the verdict so freely given him by the people of Nevada, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

Mr. President, on August 2, 1917, Senator NEWLANDS delivered in this body an address on river development, water conservation, and coordinated rail, river, and ocean transportation. At that time permission was granted the Senator to insert historical statements on this measure, containing extracts from messages of various Presidents, extracts from reports of committees, and other public matter, both in newspapers and in the public records, and letters relating to this subject. When I arrived in Washington I found that these remarks had been corrected and these historical data had been supplied, and permission having been granted at that time, I now send to the desk the remarks of the Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS on the subjects just enumerated, with the data attached, and ask that they be printed in the Record.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Pomerene in the chair). Without objection, they will be ordered printed in the Record.

(The matter referred to appears on pages 75-182.)

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. President, I also send to the desk a memorial to FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS by the National Reclamation Association and ask that it be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The memorial is as follows:

NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION.

MEMORIAL TO FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

“Where there is no vision the people perish.”

The country owes a debt of gratitude to FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS that can be paid only by completing the great work to which his life was devoted. His vision of nature's devastating forces conquered and controlled, of deserts reclaimed by irrigation and swamps by drainage, of valleys defended against onrushing floods, of forests safeguarded against fires, of grass and trees made to grow over millions of acres where none grew before, of winter floods harnessed to float water-borne commerce in summer and furnish power to industry, of waterways aiding railways to meet growing transportation needs, of the Nation's greatest asset, its unused and now wasted waters, fully conserved and utilized for food production, power, and navigation, was a vision of benefactions to future generations that will guide and inspire all who may hereafter labor for its fulfillment.

Peace will bring obligations to serve humanity no less potent than the demands of war. The devastating forces of nature, forest fires, floods, and the deadly encroachments of the deserts, must in future be fought with the same invincible determination and adequate expenditure with which we have fought the devastating forces of war. Wherever the tendrils of a new life are creeping upward beside the hearthstone of a home founded on the reclaimed desert, the child at its mother's knee should be taught its obligations to those who made that home possible, and its duty to enlist in the great army of peace that will fight to achieve the full realization of the vision of the pioneers of deserts

ADDRESS OF MR. HENDERSON, OF NEVADA

conquered, swamps subjugated, and floods chained and held back until needed to feed gently flowing rivers.

For a full quarter of a century FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS was a guiding spirit among those pioneers and their leader in the national halls of legislation. He attended the first session of the National Irrigation Congress at Salt Lake City in 1891, and bore a prominent part in its deliberations. Elected to the House of Representatives in the following year (1892), he deliberately dedicated himself to the one great task on which he had determined to found his public career—the reclamation of the arid lands by means of a bold and far-reaching policy of statesmanship. His capacious intellect, informed by wide experience of affairs and tempered by a fine instinct of benevolence, supplied the ideal equipment for this special undertaking.

He realized that the men of the great West, as trustees for the Nation, and forefathers of an unimaginable future, stood in the presence of a vast problem of which there then appeared no possible solution, yet upon the solution of which the existence and happiness of millions of people would ultimately depend.

At the beginning of his work in Congress he encountered three apparently insuperable obstacles.

First, there was a well-nigh universal hostile public opinion, for the science of irrigation was unknown or unappreciated; the half continent of arid or semiarid land was considered practically worthless.

Next, there was deep-seated opposition from eastern people, particularly farmers, to the appropriation of public moneys for the creation of new agricultural districts in the far west.

Finally, there were local jealousies in arid Arizona itself, each State and valley preferring its own claims to attention before all others.

With unconquerable optimism this man of vision set himself to overcome the stupendous odds.

His ceaseless campaign of education, conducted both in and out of Congress, with voice and pen, and extending even to his Washington home, where he converted his colleagues through a series of entertainments and illustrated lectures, eventually brought a powerful following to his support.

But he had yet to forge the weapon—the actual legislation—on the anvil of debate. He brought forth at length a shining lance, a miracle of statesmanship, which enabled him to strike a fatal blow to the heart of all opposition, both eastern and western.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

This weapon was the original Newlands national irrigation bill, introduced January 26, 1901, nearly 10 years subsequent to the first national irrigation congress, but prior to the appointment of the famous committee of western statesmen who finally approved it and before the accession of the President who later urged and signed the measure.

The Newlands bill overcame all eastern opposition by proposing to take the receipts arising from the sale of the public domain—money contributed by western settlers in exchange for western lands—instead of asking appropriations from the National Treasury.

It harmonized all western differences by providing for the equitable apportionment of the fund among the public-land States.

It was a great piece of automatic legislation, placing a revolving fund at the disposal of the Secretary of the Interior and thus providing for the construction of project after project without further action of Congress.

If the fame of FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS rested on nothing more it would be secure in the hearts of the western people, but his promotion to the Senate of the United States was followed by something infinitely greater—the Newlands river-regulation bill—certainly the most comprehensive and perhaps the most beneficent single measure of legislation ever devised in any age or country.

Under the terms of this bill man would assert his promised dominion over the earth and come into his rightful heritage.

Every stream would be harnessed—for power, for irrigation, for drainage, for navigation; erosion and floods would be prevented and their menace lifted from the flood-stricken valleys.

Every forest area would be conserved, every deforested area replanted, and new forest plantations created.

There would be no idle men in the length and breadth of the land; for the work of broadening the country's economic foundation and mobilizing its entire fund of natural resources for human uses would absorb and reward all energies.

And this was and is only the beginning.

The great ultimate objective is to open the way for millions of men and women to get homes on the land, to achieve individual independence, and thus effectually to secure the true liberty of the American people throughout all generations.

The adoption of this policy of continental conquest is as certain as the rising of to-morrow's sun.

ADDRESS OF MR. HENDERSON, OF NEVADA

On no other terms can the Republic meet the mighty strain that will be put upon it with the cessation of war activities and the return home of the battling hosts.

No man lives beyond his allotted span save the few who give the world a new and creative thought that influences for good the fortunes of the many throughout all time.

To this small company of immortals FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS assuredly belongs.

A great man who led his country to the threshold of a great epoch and pointed the way!

He fell at the supreme height of his usefulness.

He had steadily grown through the years until at last he had attained an unquestioned eminence in the rare quality of constructive statesmanship.

His fame will broaden and deepen with the passing generations living in the shelter of his thought and work.

J. H. Brady, president; Francis Cuttle, vice president;
W. A. Reeder, chairman of the board; George L. Ralston, treasurer; Fred E. Peterson, secretary; William E. Smythe, T. P. Lukens, George Wharton James, memorial committee; A. K. Brauer, M. V. Hartranft, Louis C. Hill, George H. Maxwell, Frank H. Olmsted, executive council.

LETTER FROM MR. SAULSBURY, OF DELAWARE

Mr. PITTMAN. Mr. President, the Senator from Delaware [Mr. Saulsbury] has written me a letter which I ask permission to read. It is as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON COAST AND INSULAR SURVEY,

August 31, 1918.

Hon. KEY PITTMAN,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: It causes me deep regret that I am unable to be present at the memorial exercises of Senator NEWLANDS to be held in the Senate on Monday. The postponement of these exercises has made it impossible for me to make a short address on the occasion; therefore I am writing you.

I do not believe the Senate ever had among its Members a more earnest, industrious, straightforward, honorable, untiring Senator than FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada. Those of us who were honored with his personal friendship feel deeply the great loss we have suffered. He was a man of far vision, looking toward the great ends of government and public action, troubled little by the smaller details or temporary hindrances which sometimes seem so important to men of more limited horizon.

Several times during my service with him in the Senate he has proposed measures far in advance of the thought of the time and lived to see us come to take the view he has first advanced. His solicitude when considering public matters was always that right principles should be established and the matter immediately under consideration brought in harmony with the principle, rather than that some temporary aim should be served. I doubt if Senator NEWLANDS in advocating or opposing a measure ever considered whether a majority of his colleagues would support his views or oppose them. His effort was to have us all appreciate the reason for the course he advocated, and, having presented those reasons, I never observed in him the slightest sign of irritation toward anyone who failed to appreciate the views he presented.

LETTER FROM MR. SAULSBURY, OF DELAWARE

I esteemed it a great privilege to be considered by Senator NEWLANDS as a personal friend. I saw him often, and only a few hours before his death enjoyed that perfect hospitality for which in this city he was famed.

Senator NEWLANDS will be long remembered by those who served with him in the Senate as a faithful, high-minded public servant, who conscientiously and with consideration only of the public interest brought forward and advocated public measures which came before us. The West lost in him one of her greatest sons, and the Nation mourns a Senator of high ideals and far-visioned aspirations, guided in his public efforts by his conception of the best interests of all our people in the widest sense. He was useful, eloquent, and industrious, and by his efforts helped to maintain the high standard of the Senate, which loved and respected him.

Yours, very truly,

WILLARD SAULSBURY.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The ceremonies having been concluded, the Secretary will notify the House of Representatives thereof, and, in accordance with the unanimous-consent agreement, the Senate stands adjourned until 12 o'clock to-morrow.

Thereupon (at 2 o'clock and 30 minutes p. m.) the Senate adjourned until to-morrow, Tuesday, September 3, 1918, at 12 o'clock m.

PROCEEDINGS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

THURSDAY, *January 3, 1918.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Henry N. Couden, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our heavenly Father, whose invisible hand guides the stars, which mark the flight of time, Thou hast brought us to the beginning of a new year, with its hopes and ever-widening possibilities.

The past is ours by inheritance and by our personal experience. The future is a closed book. Help us by the wisdom of the past, its mistakes and defeats, that with calmness and serenity we may read the pages of the future, as they are unfolded, with fortitude, courage, and vigor.

As the sun rose upon the new year it looked down upon a world of strife, carnage, brutality, and heart-rending suffering and sorrow. Grant, O most merciful Father, that amid all we may cling to Thee in faith as our refuge and our strength, for faith is truer than doubt, truth is mightier than the sword, right is stronger than might, and love shall live when the stars have all gone out.

May the duty well done to-day strengthen us for the duties of the to-morrow, and may the achievements of the past inspire us to the new achievements which the future hath in store for the faithful.

Since we last met two Members of the congressional family have crossed the river of death; peace be to their souls, and the consolation of faith, hope, and love sustain their colleagues, friends, and bereaved families. In His name. Amen.

MEMORIAL ADDRESSES: SENATOR NEWLANDS

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Waldorf, its enrolling clerk, announced that the Senate had passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow of the death of the Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, late a Senator from the State of Nevada.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the Senate do now adjourn.

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, it is my solemn and painful duty to announce the death of the Hon. FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS, late a Senator from the State of Nevada, and formerly for many years a Member of this House. I shall ask at some later date that a day be set apart for Members of this House to pay a fitting tribute to his memory as a citizen and as a public servant. I offer the following resolution.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report it.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. FRANCIS GRIFFITH NEWLANDS, late a Senator from the State of Nevada.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

The resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

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RIVER DEVELOPMENT—WATER CONSERVATION—COORDINATED RAIL, RIVER, AND OCEAN TRANSPORTATION.

[Remarks of Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Thursday, Aug. 2, 1917.]

The Senate had under consideration the conference report on the river and harbor bill, confirming the Senate amendment.

Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I quite agree with the Senator from Minnesota [Mr. Nelson] as to the importance of bringing the rail and water carriers into coordination and cooperation. I wish, however, to call the attention of the Senator from Minnesota to the fact that, desirable as the cooperation and coordination of rail and water carriers is, we must have a perfected instrumentality for rail carriers and must have a perfected instrumentality for water carriers; and a complete and perfect waterway is as essential for water carriage as a complete and perfect railway for rail carriage.

• THE RHINE AND THE DANUBE.

We have been singularly lethargic in our movement for the perfection of our waterways. The newspapers announce that, even during the stress of war, Germany and Austria have agreed upon a plan, and are now engaged in its actual execution, of connecting the headwaters of the Rhine, which empties into the North Sea, with the headwaters of the Danube, emptying into the Black Sea. When that is done we shall find as the result that the perfectly coordinated system of waterways of Germany—uniting all her waterways by artificial connection in such a way that you can proceed from one part of Germany to any other part of Germany by waterway—will be united with an equally perfected system of waterways in Austria. When this war ends that great union of coordinated empires will have the most perfect system of rail, river, and ocean transportation in the world.

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COORDINATED RAIL AND RIVER TRANSPORTATION.

Mr. President, I wish to add something further to what the Senator from Minnesota has said. He has suggested that, as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, I should apply my energies to bring the rail and waterway carriers into coordination. I wish to say that that matter has received my utmost earnest attention, and is now before the Joint Committee on Interstate Commerce of the Senate and the House of Representatives, of which I have the honor to be chairman, and which is considering the whole question of waterway transportation. If the Senator will read the reports of the hearings held by that joint committee, he will find how large a space is devoted to the consideration of a perfected waterway system, with a view of bringing rail carriers, river carriers, and ocean carriers into coordination.

Now, Mr. President, I wish to express my great gratification that the amendment of the Senate providing for a waterways commission has been accepted by the House conferees.

THE RIVER-REGULATION BILL.

This amendment embodies the substantial features of a measure known as the river-regulation bill, which some of us have been urging for years for the practical coordination of the engineering and scientific services of the country engaged in the study of our water resources in order that those resources may be fully utilized for navigation, irrigation, swamp and arid land reclamation, water-power development, and all other useful purposes for which the surplus waters that are now wasted may be beneficially used, and for the coordination of the Nation with the States in plans and works for the full development from the source to the mouth of all waterways in such a way as to eliminate destructive floods and to

utilize flood and stored waters for beneficial and wealth-producing purposes.

Such legislation was approved nearly 10 years ago by the Inland Waterways Commission appointed by Mr. Roosevelt, and has been supported by Mr. Roosevelt and by Mr. Taft, as well as by President Wilson and his Cabinet. Whilst the provision in the river and harbor bill does not carry the large appropriations contemplated in the original bill introduced by me and urged for so many years, it does provide for its entire plan of organization and administrative machinery, and under it plans for construction can be perfected and submitted for the approval of Congress.

I predict that the passage of this measure will open up a new era in transportation and that under it a perfectly coordinated system of rail, river, and ocean transportation will be developed. I predict also that destructive floods will be mitigated and eventually eliminated; that swamp lands will be restored; that arid lands will be reclaimed; that intensive cultivation and forestry will be stimulated by supplies of stored water; that water power will be developed for municipal and power uses; and that under its provisions a remarkable conservation of the natural resources of the country will be established.

No one can picture the beauty and perfection of our waterway system when our river banks can be made stable, when the channels become fixed and the flood plane determined and controlled, and when thriving towns and cities will be established at places which have been for years threatened with constantly rising floods and recurring overflows.

WATER CONSERVATION A WAR MEASURE.

As a war measure nothing surpasses in importance this measure. Our rivers, connected with each other by artificial channels, and with the Great Lakes, and with the

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gulfs and oceans, will carry the cheap and bulky articles of freight which are now burdening our railroads to the point of congestion.

We must not overlook the fact that the war is enormously stimulating industry along lines that are largely temporary. Peace will bring far-reaching stagnation, unless some great constructive policy for building internal improvements is substituted for the stimulus to industry created by the war, which will be withdrawn when peace returns. The plans for such a great national constructive era for internal improvement and development can now be made before the war closes. The instant peace has been achieved this Nation can turn the same indomitable energy that it is now devoting to winning this war against a foreign foe to winning a greater war against the destroying forces of nature, and to the creation of new wealth, by building waterways, by creating new communities on reclaimed lands, by developing water power, by controlling floods, by planting forests, by preventing forest fires, and by conserving for the best and highest use, for the benefit of all the people, the natural resources of the country.

THE SAME ALL-CONQUERING ENERGY.

The greatest waste that takes place in this country to-day is the waste of its surplus waters, which are the Nation's greatest asset, but which now run to waste in the sea, carrying destruction in their path, in the form of devastating floods. We must learn to conserve that waste and to transform it into wealth; we must learn to fight that devastation with exactly the same all-conquering energy that we are now devoting to war. In no other way can the period of industrial depression that will otherwise be the aftermath of the war be so effectually averted. If that is to be done the great work of making the working plans for construction must be done before the war ends. It must be begun now and prosecuted with the same dili-

gence that war measures are being prosecuted. This great work of building internal improvements and creating densely settled rural communities on newly reclaimed lands and on old lands protected from overflow or fortified by an abundant water supply will furnish a way of providing for the industrial employment of the hundreds of thousands of men who will return from the war when it has closed and their terms of enlistment have expired, and for whom occupation must be provided in time of peace.

STRENUOUS ECONOMIC COMPETITION.

We can not ever expect to maintain a large army in idleness in this country in time of peace, but we can maintain an industrial army. The pressure of the strenuous economic competition that will prevail in the world after the war will not permit the economic waste of a large army of idlers. If we have an army it will have to be a working army, engaged in the construction of works of internal improvement, such as are contemplated in this provision for river regulation which is embodied in the river and harbor bill.

In the economic era that lies ahead, that nation which applies the greatest science and skill in the elimination of waste, in the conservation of natural resources, and in the development of opportunity, will fare best in material progress, in the creation of national strength and wealth, and in the progressive development of world influence. This river-regulation provision opens the gate wide for us.

A CONSTRUCTIVE EXECUTIVE.

Mr. President, the agitation which has finally resulted in the adoption of this measure has been going on for more than 10 years; very many have contributed most materially to its advancement; waterways associations and chambers of commerce and boards of trade through-

out the country have had their attention directed to this movement and have approved it, and many eminent, energetic, and public-spirited men have contributed to its advancement. I wish to say, however, that my experience in Congress has been that it is very difficult for an individual Member of Congress to initiate and carry through within a reasonable period any great constructive work of legislation. It took 10 years to carry through the reclamation act, and then we had to summon to our support the matchless energy of Theodore Roosevelt, without whose aid the passage of that bill would probably have been much longer delayed. It is absolutely essential that there be a constructive Executive to focus the attention of the country and of Congress upon a particular constructive measure. So it was in reference to the Trade Commission, a measure which has been pending here for years, and which needed the energizing force of President Wilson to carry it into accomplishment; so it is with this measure. Every friend of waterway development is indebted to Mr. Wilson for the painstaking attention which he has given to this subject. He appointed a Cabinet committee to investigate it and to make a report to him, and ever since that time he has been the firm and consistent friend of a great, comprehensive measure for the development of our waterways and the conservation and utilization of our water resources.

THE EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

I can not in this connection close in reference to those who outside of Congress have been active in this movement without referring to Mr. George H. Maxwell, the executive director of the National Reclamation Association, who is so prominently identified with the national reclamation movement, who conducted the educational campaign throughout the country for 10 years which finally led to putting that measure upon the statute books;

who, ever since then, has been continuously connected with the nation-wide educational campaign for the passage of this measure, and who, as the trusted adviser of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh and of the Reclamation Association of Louisiana, gave his ripe experience to the subject of conducting this great educational campaign and the prosecution of the work of those organizations. In connection with that work, he lived for nearly three years in Pittsburgh, from 1908 to 1911, studying the flood problems of the Ohio River Valley, and during 1912 and 1913, the two great flood years, he was in New Orleans studying the flood and waterway problems of the Mississippi River Valley.

Mr. President, I would be glad to mention other names, among them the names of Frederick H. Newell; Gifford Pinchot; the late W J McGee; Herbert Knox Smith; Walter Parker, of New Orleans; Robert H. Downman, of New Orleans; Joseph N. Teal, of Oregon; the late Charles B. Boothe, of Los Angeles, for many years president of the National Reclamation Association; William E. Smythe, of San Francisco, the founder of the National Irrigation Congress; Francis Cuttle, of Riverside, chairman of the Tri-Counties Reforestation Committee; J. L. Craig and George McM. Ross, of Stockton, Calif.; Gov. Hall, of Louisiana; Gov. Capper and J. B. Case, of Kansas; and Herbert Quick, of the Federal Farm Loan Board.

The General Federation of Women's Clubs of the United States, through its present chairman of conservation, Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, and her predecessor, Mrs. Emmons Crocker, have been unfaltering in their support of this measure, which is equally true of innumerable State and local women's clubs, under the leadership of such loyal adherents as the late Miss Hattie M. Carstens and Mrs. B. F. Williston, of Detroit; Mrs. Foster Elliot, of Los Angeles; Mrs. Roydan Douglas, of New Orleans; and

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many others who ought to be mentioned. In fact, there is hardly a State in the Union which has not furnished its quota of zealous advocates of this plan for river regulation which is embodied in the measure now before the Senate. Their name is legion, and the mention of a few involves no lack of appreciation of the faithful work of the many who are entitled to recognition.

In this connection, Mr. President, I ask leave to insert an historical statement of this measure containing extracts from the messages of various Presidents, extracts from reports of committees, and other public matter, both in newspapers and in the public records, as well as letters relating to this subject.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, leave will be granted. The Chair hears no objection.

The matter referred to is as follows:

TOPEKA, KANS., April 5, 1917.

HON. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,

United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I thought you might be interested in the inclosed letter, which I have received from J. B. Case, of Abilene. You probably know Mr. Case. He is one of our finest citizens and a great booster for your bill. I think he is right in his views.

With best regards, I am,

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR CAPPER.

FARMERS' LOAN & TRUST Co.,
Kansas City, Mo., April 3, 1917.

HON. ARTHUR CAPPER,

Topeka, Kans.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I inclose a clipping of the Star of this date, which goes to show how slow and careless the people of the United States perform and also goes to show the great projects that Senator NEWLANDS has figured out in the interest of the West; I say West—in the interest of the whole country; but it looks to me as though it were up to the West to push this matter of the Newlands bill harder than we ever have before.

REMARKS OF MR. NEWLANDS

It also goes to show that with Germany's great war and expense that the present indications of war in the United States should be no reason why this Government should not take up the Newlands project with the sum of \$600,000,000 in comparison with the \$163,000,000 which Germany has already appropriated for a like construction.

I have recently been drafted by this company as its president, but do not think I will change my residence, as I expect to spend part of my time in Abilene as usual.

Yours, truly,

J. B. CASE, *President.*

[From the Kansas City Star.]

GERMANY PLANS A NEW SHIP CANAL.

In the midst of war Germany is planning vast industrial developments and internal improvements to be carried out after peace comes. One of the most gigantic of these has in it a lesson for Americans, and especially for those of the Middle West. It is a ship canal 440 miles long, 120 feet wide, and 11 feet deep, capable of floating vessels of 1,200 tons, to connect the Main and the Danube Rivers. It will cost \$163,000,000 and will require eight years to build. The Bavarian Government has already made arrangements to raise its share of the cost.

By following the course of this canal on a map of Germany an idea of its importance may be had. The river Main is to be deepened from its confluence with the Rhine at Mainz to Nuremberg. From there the canal will go south to the Danube. When this work is finished boats from the North Sea may enter the Rhine, go up to Mainz and enter the Main, and so on to the Danube and down that river to the Black Sea.

Why is Germany going to spend such a vast sum on an internal waterway? The answer contains the lesson from which America may profit. Mainly this work is to be done to relieve railway congestion. Germany's plans for great industrial development can not be carried out if the railways are to become congested with freight and traffic delayed. Experience has shown that in times of great activity the railroads are not adequate to handle the traffic. Germany has had that experience, just as we had it this year, and many times before. Germany, with an already widely developed system of waterways, has learned how water-borne traffic relieves railway congestion. Between 1895 and 1905

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the traffic on German waterways increased 125 per cent, and on railways it increased 71 per cent. The two systems work together, the waterways taking the poorest paying heavy merchandise, such as coal, sand, lumber, hardware, leaving the railways free for passengers and fast freight.

America's waterways are undeveloped. In time they will all be great arteries of transportation and then we shall not have the whole railway transportation system of this country stalled because of congestion from trains of coal and wheat and lumber and iron ore moving slowly on every line. Those commodities will go by water, as they do in Germany. If the United States is to keep up with Germany in the race for the world's trade we must plan for as great efficiency as Germany has, and one of the things contributing to that efficiency is water-borne transportation.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

Washington, April 18, 1917.

Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,

United States Senate, Washington.

MY DEAR SENATOR: You and I have been interested for years in the matter of the development of our inland waterways. You may possibly remember my book, *American Inland Waterways*, published in 1909 by Putnam.

For many years I have refused to take any interest in the matter of this development because of the conviction which has been borne in upon me that all plans for restoring commerce to our rivers will be futile, save under exceptional conditions, until a national policy is adopted which will require the railroads to correlate their business with the business of the waterways; will prevent them from pursuing policies which are destructive to waterway commerce; will enable shippers to route their shipments by land or water, in whole or in part, according to their needs; which will force joint traffic arrangements between water lines and railway lines; and which will build up our inland harbors with freight-handling appliances and means generally for putting the waterway transportation lines as nearly upon an equality with railway lines in the matter of service as is possible.

I am taking the liberty to address this letter to you at this time because of the fact that the railroads are, in my opinion, absolutely sure to break down completely under the load of freight which they will have to carry during this war.

REMARKS OF MR. NEWLANDS

We are urging the farmers to produce and produce, and to continue to produce, but we are providing no additional transportation of any sort for them. The slow, heavy freight not only ought to go by water where possible, but additional possibilities for its movements ought to be opened up, and the railroads should be, if necessary, coerced into allowing that sort of freight to come by water instead of breaking their backs trying to carry it by rail.

I certainly doubt whether complete development of the interior of a country like this can ever take place except by the development of our waterways.

Under the present conditions of the American railways prosperity can develop only up to a certain point. When this point is reached prosperity is strangled by lack of transportation. This condition is intolerable, to my mind, and within six months I feel sure that it will be so regarded by all minds.

Whatever is necessary to be done in the way of legislation or constitutional amendments ought now to be done, in order that we may adopt a national waterways policy which will include not only reforestation to prevent the silting up of our waterways, but also headwaters control, a system of reservoirs on the general principles advocated by Mr. Marshall O. Leighton in 1907, and the development of the water powers which will be made available by such a system. At present the constitutional doctrine that nothing can be done in these matters except in the interests of navigation makes all coordinated effort in that direction difficult. May I suggest that now is the time for a "spring drive" in the direction of waterway development? I do not for a moment believe that you are oblivious of the fact that the present crisis is an opportunity, and I am writing this to express my belief that the breakdown of transportation which is now apparent will soon make transportation one of our big issues.

There are no cars for coal. The Packard Co. are delivering their automobiles all over the United States, even as far as the Pacific coast, by having them driven overland on account of lack of cars. I am told that in the city of Flint, Mich., there are from 15,000 to 20,000 automobiles parked in open places of the city for lack of storage room, every one of which has been sold to a customer but can not be delivered for want of cars. What will happen under the pressure of war and war orders and

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the movement of troops is something which the country and its legislators have not yet realized.

Please pardon this long letter, which I will not make longer unnecessarily.

Yours, sincerely,

HERBERT QUICK,
Member Farm Loan Board.

HISTORICAL STATEMENT REGARDING THE WATERWAY MOVEMENT.

THE NEWLANDS RIVER-REGULATION AMENDMENT: SECTION 18 OF THE RIVER AND HARBOR BILL OF AUGUST, 1917.

[By George H. Maxwell, executive director National Reclamation Association.]

An historical statement of the national campaign that has led up to the final adoption of the great comprehensive plan for river regulation provided for in section 18 of the river and harbor bill of August, 1917, known as the Newlands river-regulation amendment, in place of the old and hopelessly inadequate, piecemeal system of river improvement, is a most interesting chapter in the legislative history of the United States.

The river-regulation movement harks back to the very beginning of the agitation for national irrigation and water conservation in the West—even further back than the founding of the National Irrigation Congress by William E. Smythe, more than a quarter of a century ago. Many of the early pioneers in the movement, like Maj. J. W. Powell, did not live to see the realization of their visions, but we are now within reach of that realization.

River regulation—the control of the surplus flow and flood waters on the source streams by systems of reservoirs—was the original idea of this movement when it first took the form of a nation-wide campaign.

The Newlands Reclamation Act, passed in 1902, was a compromise and provided only for the reclamation of specific tracts of land where the cost of the reclamation could be reimbursed from the lands reclaimed. It was not a complete adoption of the comprehensive national policy which had been theretofore urged upon Congress, the policy of regulating the flow of all rivers by reservoirs so as to increase the water resources of the Nation, without reference to any specific use of the water

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or any particular tract of land any more than has been the policy in other river improvements under the river and harbor bills.

The Newlands Reclamation Act was only a stepping-stone to the more comprehensive river-regulation policy, which included in its scope the full conservation and utilization of all the vast unused and now wasted water resources of the United States, not only for navigation but for every beneficial purpose for which the water could be used.

Immediately following the inauguration of the new national policy provided for by the Newlands Reclamation Act the advocates of a nation-wide policy of river regulation returned to their active efforts to secure the inauguration by Congress of the whole broad river-regulation policy, and those efforts have at last culminated in its adoption through the enactment of this Newlands river-regulation amendment.

The most interesting and complete historical statement heretofore published with reference to this movement is found in the report of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, pages 1 to 5, from which the following is quoted:

“ HISTORICAL.

“ The regulation and control of the flow of navigable rivers in aid of interstate commerce is an important factor relating to the conservation, development, and use of the natural resources of the United States and the enlargement of its internal trade and commerce. When such a national policy has been adopted on a scale commensurate with the magnitude of the problem, it will not only promote navigation and water transportation but must also necessarily include the storage of flood waters for flood prevention and for all other beneficial uses and the protection of watersheds from denudation and erosion and from forest fires.

“ Much has already been done, in a disconnected and inadequate way, toward the inauguration of such a comprehensive national policy for river regulation, and the work done and measures advocated by the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh are in the direction of an ultimate enlargement of that policy, which will be vastly beneficial to the entire country. The progress thus far made has been accomplished as the result of three organized movements:

“ First. The national irrigation movement, culminating in the passage of the national irrigation act, which became a law on

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June 2, 1902. Under this act about \$60,000,000 has been thus far expended in the construction of works for water storage and control in the western half of the United States. Several large reservoirs have been built on the headwaters of the Missouri River and its tributaries.

“Second. The Appalachian Forest Reserve movement, resulting in the passage of the Weeks Appalachian National Forest Act, which became a law on March 1, 1911. The purpose of this act, as expressed in its title, is ‘to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams, and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers.’

“Third. The national storage-reservoir movement, which was first in order of date and was inaugurated by the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh through the National Board of Trade in December, 1898. The resolution then presented by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce to the National Board of Trade urged ‘the storage of flood waters on the upper branches of navigable streams, to be held in use for irrigation, for checking damaging floods and liberating water in times of drought that will preserve streams in navigable condition.’

“In behalf of this proposition Mr. George H. Anderson, then secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh, submitted a report, the preamble of which was as follows:

“‘Your committee, to whom has been referred the subject of the storage of flood waters on the higher tributaries of the navigable streams in the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys for improving navigation, providing for irrigation, etc., present the following report.’

“After the discussion following the reading of this report, which is published on pages 59 to 76 of the Report of the Twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the National Board of Trade, held in Washington in December, 1898, and in Appendix No. 6 of this volume, a resolution was adopted by the National Board of Trade embodying substantially the recommendations of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce on this subject and laying stress upon ‘the value of a system of improvement on the navigable waterways of the Mississippi and Ohio Basins for irrigating and making productive vast areas of arid lands, for the continued improvement of these rivers for transportation purposes, and diminishing the destructive power of floods.’

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" NATIONAL IRRIGATION MOVEMENT.

"The movement thus started by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce was taken up by the National Irrigation Association, organized on June 2, 1899, and brought about the enactment of the national irrigation act previously mentioned. This association has persistently advocated the adoption of a national policy which is stated in the constitution of the association as follows:

" 'The preservation and development of our natural resources by the construction of storage reservoirs by the Federal Government for flood protection and to save for use in aid of navigation and irrigation the flood waters which now run to waste and cause overflow and destruction.'

"A national educational propaganda was inaugurated, based upon the action of the National Board of Trade on the resolution of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, and also upon the recommendations of the Chittenden Report, Document No. 141, House of Representatives, Fifty-fifth Congress, second session. This report was made under an appropriation contained in the rivers and harbors act of June 3, 1896, which provided, in section 8, for a number of preliminary examinations, among which was the following:

" 'From the examination of sites and report upon the practicability and desirability of constructing reservoirs and other hydraulic works necessary for the storage and utilization of water, to prevent floods and overflows, erosion of river banks and breaks of levees, and to reinforce the flow of streams during drought and low-water seasons, at least one site each in the States of Wyoming and Colorado.'

"The Chittenden Report, transmitted to Congress on December 6, 1897, now out of print, has attracted wide attention and may be found in part in the Report of the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army for 1898. An abstract of this report will be found in Appendix No. 6 of the Report of the Flood Commission. After a most exhaustive examination and consideration of the whole question of the effect and value of reservoirs to aid navigation, to prevent floods, and to furnish water for irrigation, the following conclusions were stated:

" 'First. A comprehensive reservoir system in the arid regions of the United States is absolutely essential to the future welfare of this portion of the public domain.

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“‘Second. It is not possible to secure the best developments of such a system except through the agency of the National Government.’

“The work of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh has related primarily, of course, to the conditions on the headwaters of the Ohio River. It is worthy of note at this point that in considering the effect of flood-water storage on the Missouri River upon floods in the lower Mississippi Valley Col. Chittenden said:

“‘The floods of the Mississippi are formed by the heavy rains in the low regions east of the ninety-eighth meridian and very largely come from east of the Mississippi itself. The great controlling element, in fact, in all the lower river floods is the Ohio River.’

“The relation of flood-water storage on the upper Ohio and its tributaries to river regulation and flood prevention in the lower Mississippi Valley is thus clearly set forth, and makes manifest the fact assumed in the resolution of the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce to the National Board of Trade in December, 1898, above referred to. Considered from a national point of view, flood-water storage on the Ohio Basin is but one aspect of a great national problem which is coextensive with the entire drainage basin of the Mississippi River and all its tributaries, covering an area comprising more than one-third of the United States and stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and from the crest of the Appalachian Range, on the east, to the crown of the continent, on the west. Hence any attempt to localize the problem must fail.

“In presenting the arguments, which make it clear that reservoir construction for river regulation is naturally and necessarily a national function, Col. Chittenden, on pages 55 and 56 of his report, says:

“‘In the case of reservoirs it not infrequently happens that some of the very best sites are to be found close to State lines, where the waters so stored will flow immediately into neighboring States. In these extreme cases the States where they are located could not, of course, be expected to construct reservoirs, and the States to be benefited would not be likely to go outside their own borders to do so. The function clearly pertains to that sovereignty which covers all the country and embraces the streams from their sources to the sea. It alone can store these waters and be sure that it is reaping the full benefit.

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“ ‘The policy of the Government in the matter of the preservation of the forests of the country is a case directly in point. There seems to be a well-nigh universal consensus of opinion that the preservation of the forests of the arid regions is distinctly a Government duty. * * * Inasmuch as the commercial value of these forests is practically insignificant, except for furnishing fuel and rough timber, the water question is really the more important one. If it is properly a Government function to preserve the forests in order to conserve the flow of the streams, surely it can not be less a Government function to execute works which will conserve that flow even more positively and directly. Granting all that can be said of forests in this connection, they certainly can never prevent the June rise, and it is precisely this waste flow which reservoirs will help to save. The forests ought unquestionably to be preserved, and the Government is the proper agency to do it, but the principal arguments therefor apply with accentuated force to the construction of reservoirs.’

“The precedent for the construction of reservoirs for river regulation and to reinforce the flow during low-water seasons had already been established by the construction, beginning in 1881, of five reservoirs on the headwaters of the Mississippi River, where dams were built across the outlets of natural lakes. These reservoirs are described in Appendix No. 5 of this report and are referred to at some length by Mr. Anderson in his paper mentioned above.

“FOREST MOVEMENT.

“The National Government has now, however, by the enactment of the Appalachian National Forest bill, gone to the full extent of recognizing and using its constitutional power to control and regulate the flow of navigable rivers at their sources not only by the building of artificial reservoirs but by preserving the forests and woodland cover on the watershed as natural reservoirs.

“The maintenance and preservation of natural reservoirs by forest preservation, as provided in this act, and the construction of artificial reservoirs, as advocated by the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, on the headwaters of the Ohio River in the Appalachian Mountains, involve the exercise of a constitutional power which is precisely the same in both instances. It is the same power which was exercised in the creation of the California

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Débris Commission, to prevent the silting up of navigable channels by the débris from hydraulic mines. It is also the same power which was exercised in the construction of levees on the lower Mississippi to aid in maintaining a navigable channel, notwithstanding the conceded fact that one of the greatest moving forces in that case was the necessity for protecting the plantations from overflow.

“So, in the case of reservoir construction on the headwaters of the Ohio River, the constitutional power being so clearly established, the enormous damages by floods in the Ohio Valley, estimated to average at least \$50,000,000 a year, and in some years to be as high as \$100,000,000, furnishes strong ground for relief from the National Government when it is conceded that such regulation of the flow of the river by reservoirs as would, beyond question, immensely aid navigation and would also give relief from these destructive floods. Senator Burton clearly saw this aspect of the question when, in his speech in the Senate on the passage of the Appalachian National Forest bill, he said:

“‘Another thing that the Federal Government ought to do if this precedent is established, and it ought to do it right away, is to provide means for the prevention of floods. At certain seasons of the year we can hardly take up a newspaper without reading of the loss of life and of the mammoth destruction of property as a result of floods in the Ohio, the Mississippi, and various other streams of the country. Those floods have a direct influence upon navigation. If we are going to inaugurate this policy, why not protect these manifold interests by preventing floods and save the tremendous loss of property and the very pitiful loss of life which so frequently occurs?’

“EXTENSION OF POLICY TO RESERVOIRS.

“The National Government having, by the passage of the Appalachian National Forest act, inaugurated the policy of maintaining natural reservoirs on the tributaries and source streams of the navigable rivers, for the purpose of regulating their flow, and having extended the policy of national forest reserves for that purpose into the Appalachian region, it is manifest that even-handed justice between the different sections of this great country requires that the policy of building artificial reservoirs for river regulation should also be extended over that portion of the United States lying east of the Mississippi River. Thus

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far everything done under that constitutional power, for the control and regulation of the flow of the navigable rivers, has been on the headwaters of the Mississippi River, or in the lower valley of that river, or in the vast territory to the west of it. The entire territory extending from the Mississippi River on the west to the Atlantic seacoast on the east has been excluded from any local participation in the benefits of expenditures under that policy.

“The Flood Commission of Pittsburgh now urges that the policy already inaugurated in a part of the country be made broadly national and that the East as well as the West shall be made beneficiaries under it. The Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh has at all times, from the very first, been an active and consistent advocate of the reservoir policy in the West, and now, with the same broad vision of national benefits, the flood commission organized by the chamber of commerce urges its extension to the East. All who advocate national irrigation in the West, national drainage in the South, or flood prevention in the East through national river regulation are practically supporting one and the same national policy and should unite to accomplish its nation-wide adoption.

“Pittsburgh took the lead in urging this broad application of the policy as far back as 1898, and has aided other sections to secure the first benefits from its adoption. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate that Pittsburgh, after spending over \$100,000 to establish the facts and showing the practicability and necessity for the adoption of the same constructive national policy in the Ohio Valley, should take the lead in a national campaign to extend the national policy of flood-water storage over the entire United States and to all navigable rivers and their tributaries and source streams.

“THE NEWLANDS BILL.

“A bill providing for such a broad national extension of the policy of river regulation was introduced by Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate of the United States on March 1, 1911, the day the Weeks Appalachian National Forest bill became a law by the signature of the President. The purpose of this Newlands river-regulation bill was to so enlarge the forest policy inaugurated by the Weeks bill as to make it cover the entire United States and to supplement the establishment and maintenance of the natural reservoirs which the forests and woodland cover create by an adequate national system of artificial reservoirs

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for flood-water storage. This bill, which is printed in Appendix No. 6 of this volume, was Senate bill 10900, in the Sixty-first Congress, third session, and Senate bill No. 122, in the Sixty-second Congress, first session.

“The Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh has in the past supported both the national irrigation act, which was known as the Newlands bill in the House of Representatives when it passed that body, and the Weeks Appalachian National Forest Act, and has extended its indorsement and support to the Newlands river-regulation bill by the adoption on April 13, 1911, of the following resolution:

“Whereas a bill was introduced in the Senate of the United States by Senator NEWLANDS on March 1, 1911, entitled:

“‘A bill to create a board of river regulation and to provide a fund for the regulation and control of the flow of navigable rivers in aid of interstate commerce, and as a means to that end to provide for flood prevention and protection and for the beneficial use of flood waters and for water storage, and for the protection of watersheds from denudation and erosion and from forest fires, and for the cooperation of Government services and bureaus with each other and with States, municipalities, and other local agencies;” and

“Whereas the primary purpose of said bill is to bring into conference and cooperation the National Government with the States, municipalities, counties, and local districts for the construction of the works necessary for the regulation of the flow of rivers and for flood prevention and protection, and it provides a fund of \$50,000,000 annually for 10 years for said purpose; and

“Whereas the passage of said bill by Congress would result in the relief not only of Pittsburgh but of all cities and communities on the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers from destructive floods, and increase the flow of the rivers in the low-water season for navigation: Now, therefore, be it

“Resolved, That the Chamber of Commerce of Pittsburgh hereby indorses said Newlands river-regulation bill and requests the Senators and Congressmen from this State to urge its passage by Congress.’”

The bill referred to in the foregoing resolution has been designated and known throughout the country as the Newlands river-regulation bill. It was printed in full on pages 391 to 396 of the

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aforesaid report of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, being S. 10900 (61st Cong., 3d sess.), introduced in the Senate of the United States by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS on March 1, 1911, and reintroduced by him as S. 122 (62d Cong., 1st sess.) in the following session of Congress, on April 6, 1911.

The Newlands river-regulation bill was evolved and developed from a bill known as the Inland Waterways Commission bill, which was introduced in the Senate by Senator NEWLANDS on December 4, 1907 (S. 500, 60th Cong., 1st sess.), and which had been prepared with a view to securing the legislation necessary to inaugurate the national policy with reference to river regulation and a national system of waterways which was subsequently recommended by the Inland Waterways Commission in its report of February 3, 1908.

The following is a copy of the Inland Waterways Commission bill above referred to (S. 500, 60th Cong., 1st sess.):

“THE NEWLANDS BILL INTRODUCED IN THE SENATE DECEMBER 4, 1907.

“A bill (S. 500) providing for the appointment of an inland-waterway commission and for the improvement and development of the inland waterways of the country with a view to the promotion of transportation between the States and with foreign countries.

“*Be it enacted, etc.,* That a special fund shall be established in the Treasury, to be known as the inland-waterway fund, to be used in the examination and survey for and the development of the inland waterways of the country; and the sum of \$50,000,000 is hereby reserved, set aside, and appropriated as such fund.

“SEC. 2. That the President of the United States is hereby authorized to cause to be made examinations and surveys for the development of the inland waterways of the country, including the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River and its tributaries, the navigable rivers of the Gulf of Mexico and their tributaries, the navigable rivers of the Atlantic coast and their tributaries, the navigable rivers of the Pacific coast and their tributaries, and for the connection of such rivers with each other, wherever practicable and desirable, by connecting canals and by coastal canals, with a view to the promotion of transportation between such rivers by vessels of a standard draft; and to investigate all questions relating to the development and improvement of the inland waterways of the country, with a view to the promotion of transportation; and to consider and coordinate the questions of irrigation, swamp-land reclamation, clarification of

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streams, utilization of water power, prevention of soil waste, protection of forests, regulation of flow, control of floods, transfer facilities and sites, and the regulation and control thereof, and such other questions regarding waterways as are related to the development of rivers, lakes, and canals for the purposes of commerce.

“SEC. 3. That in order to enable the President to make such examinations, surveys, and investigations and to construct the works provided for by this act, he is authorized to appoint an inland waterways commission, to be composed of ——— members, and to bring in coordination therewith the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the Bureau of Soils, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Corporations, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the public service related to waterways, and to appoint such experts and other persons and create such board or boards in connection therewith as the work may require, and to fix the salaries of all commissioners, experts, and other persons employed under this act until the same has been fixed by Congress, the official salary of any official appointed or employed under this act to be deducted from the amount of salary or compensation fixed under the terms of this act.

“SEC. 4. That such commission shall make to the President annually, and at such other periods as may be required either by law or by the order of the President, full and complete reports of all their acts and doings and of all the moneys received and expended in the construction of works and in the performance of their duties in connection therewith, which reports shall be by the President transmitted to Congress; and such commission shall furthermore give to either House of Congress such information as may at any time be required either by act of Congress or by order of either House of Congress.

“The President shall cause to be provided for the use of the commissioners and other employees under this act such offices as may, with the suitable equipment of the same, be necessary and proper in his discretion for the proper discharge of their duties.

“SEC. 5. That if, after such examination, survey, and estimate, such commission shall determine that any project for the improvement or construction of an inland waterway or coastal waterway is practicable and desirable, it may, with the approval of the President and through the appropriate service, construct

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or execute, or cause to be let, contracts for the construction or execution of the same, in such portions or sections as it may be practicable to construct and execute as parts of the whole project: *Provided*, That the necessary moneys therefor are available in the inland waterway fund.

“SEC. 6. That such projects may include such collateral works for the irrigation of arid lands, for the reclamation of swamp lands, for the conservation or replacement of forests, for the clarification of streams, and for the utilization of water power as may be deemed advisable in connection with the development of a channel for navigation or as aiding in a compensatory way in the diminution of the cost of such project.

“SEC. 7. That such commission is authorized, with the approval of the President, to enter into cooperation with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals in such collateral works, and to make arrangements for the proportionate payment of the cost thereof out of the inland waterway fund and by the States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals benefited thereby, in such manner as to secure an equitable distribution of the costs and benefits: *Provided*, That the cost of such collateral works shall be paid, if practicable, out of funds provided therefor by Congress, but if sufficient provision therefor is not specially made by Congress, such commission is authorized to pay for the same out of the inland waterway fund; but the total payments made on account of such collateral works from such inland waterway fund shall not exceed 10 per cent thereof, and provision shall be made, as far as practicable, for the reimbursement to such fund of such payments by the States, municipalities, communities, corporations, or individuals benefited thereby: *And provided also*, That the inland waterways developed shall remain free for all the uses of navigation.

“SEC. 8. That such commission shall make, with the approval of the President, rules and regulations governing the cooperation and compensation to the fund, wherever practicable, by the conveyance of reclamation rights, the lease of water power, and such other means as may be beneficial to the United States and the several States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals entering into such cooperation.

“SEC. 9. That in carrying out the provisions of this act regard must be had, as far as practicable, to the equitable apportionment and contemporaneous execution of the projects con-

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templated under this act among the several waterway systems of the country.

“SEC. 10. That the President is authorized, whenever the inland-waterway fund is reduced below \$20,000,000, to make up the deficiency in such fund by the issue and sale of bonds in such amount and for such time as he shall deem advisable, bearing interest at a rate not exceeding — per cent per annum; but the amount of bonds issued shall not at any time exceed the difference between the cash on hand in such fund and \$50,000,000.”

The foregoing bill, known as the inland-waterways bill (S. 500), upon its introduction was referred to the Committee on Commerce of the Senate, and by that committee the bill was referred to the War Department for its suggestions and recommendations.

The bill was returned by the War Department to the Committee on Commerce with a communication, bearing date April 17, 1908, from the Secretary of War to the chairman of the Committee on Commerce, approving the bill, with some amendments which were suggested in detail in the communication.

Extracts from this communication from the Secretary of War were embodied in an address by Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate on February 18, 1910, at the time of the introduction by him of the first river-regulation amendment on that date, from which address the following is quoted:

“Here is what Secretary Taft said upon this subject in his letter of April 17, 1908, addressed to the Senate Committee on Commerce regarding Senate bill 500, which I had introduced in the Sixtieth Congress, and which was similar in its terms to Senate bill 3717, introduced by me in this Congress:

“(c) The bill provides for correlating the existing agencies in the Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor through certain powers vested in the President. The need for some such plan is sufficiently shown by the fact that while this country is better endowed with waterways than any other our streams are less used for navigation and other public purposes than those of other countries. Since this provision touches duties placed on the War Department by law, it has received careful consideration. It does not appear that the measure would interfere with the functions of the War Department, or with the continuation and extension of the engineering work now performed there, but it is believed that the provision for administration would tend to promote the general welfare. Accordingly this feature meets the approbation of the War Department.

* * * * *

“(e) The bill provides also for the initiation of projects by a board of experts. These provisions affect the work of the War Department and have had careful consideration. Suitable provisions for expert initiation and prompt execution are essential to the proper development of any system of river improvement. The chief defect in the methods hitherto pursued lies in the absence of executive authority for originating comprehensive plans covering the country or natural divisions thereof. The creation of an Inland Waterways Commission for the purpose of initiating plans for the improvement of waterways seems to me a more effective way of a general plan for the improvement of all the waterways in the country than under the present provisions of law. This would not dispense with the admirable machinery furnished by the War Department for the improvement of waterways when the plan has been determined upon and is to be executed. But it supplies what does not exist in the law now—a tribunal other than Congress charged with the duty of originating and developing a satisfactory plan.’

“Secretary Taft adds:

“‘3. In its present form the bill might be construed to curtail indirectly certain functions of the War Department, which is now charged with large discretion in waterway affairs. Possible ambiguity on this point should be removed.’

“Mr. Taft goes on and gives the history of the Engineer Corps of the Army and shows how it drifted into the control of our waterways.

“‘Under the same long-standing arrangement—

“Mr. Taft says—

“‘it is the policy of the War Department to maintain a trained body of military engineers with a view to the national defense, and to keep these engineers in training in time of peace by detail to civil duty allied to their professional duty in time of war or military preparation; and it was carrying out this policy that the functions of the War Department pertaining to waterways have been more and more largely intrusted to the engineers of the Army during the 110 years since the Army and Navy were separated in distinct departments. This policy has long been sustained by the Congress, although the military engineers have been prohibited from initiating projects or originating plans for meeting the growing needs of commerce. It is desirable to continue the policy of keeping the military engineers in training and at

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the same time rendering their skilled service available in work on waterways, although it is not necessary to vest them with the power of initiative, which they have not exercised in the past and which is, perhaps, inconsistent with their primary duty in connection with the Military Establishment, of which they form a part. A provision that the Chief of Engineers of the Army shall be a member of the commission proposed to be created, and a further provision specifically covering the detail of military engineers to the service of the commission whenever such detail shall be consistent with their military duties, would remove any possible ambiguity and would be in accord with the custom and policy of the War Department.'

* * * * *

"THE WATERWAYS COMMISSION APPROVES.

"Here also is the letter of the Inland Waterways Commission, signed by Theodore E. Burton, chairman, which, referring to this bill, states as follows:

"'1. Several of the leading provisions of the bill are in accord with the recommendations of the commission in a report submitted on February 3 last and transmitted to the Congress by the President on February 26. Among these are (a) the provision for coordination of navigation with related uses of the waters; (b) the provision for cooperation between the Federal Government, States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals; (c) the provision for correlating existing agencies in the Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor in such manner as to secure effective administration; and (d) the provisions looking toward the control of running waters in such manner as to protect and promote navigation. In so far as these provisions are concerned, the bill has the unqualified approbation of the commission.

* * * * *

"'3. The general purpose of the bill is in harmony with the comprehensive plan for improving and developing the waterways of the country framed by the commission and approved by the President in his message of February 26 last.'

"It is fair to say that this expression was somewhat modified by Gen. Mackenzie, Chief of the Engineer Corps, whose views, however, as I recall, accord with the modified provisions of the pending amendment.

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"I think the honored chairman of that committee, Mr. Burton, will bear witness with me as to the intelligent service rendered by the chiefs of the scientific services of the country who were on that commission. I am sure that ever since my experience with them I have had a higher idea of their efficiency, their capacity, and their high public spirit. I know of no organization in a business way in the country that surpasses the scientific services of the country in integrity and in efficiency."

THE INLAND WATERWAYS COMMISSION.

The Inland Waterways Commission was created by President Roosevelt on March 14, 1907, with the following membership: Hon. Theodore E. Burton, chairman; Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, vice chairman; Senator William Warner, Hon. John H. Bankhead, Gen. Alexander Mackenzie, Mr. W J McGee, Mr. F. H. Newell, Mr. Gifford Pinchot, Hon. Herbert Knox Smith.

The following brief summary of the activities of this commission is quoted from page 17 of its printed report:

" PROCEEDINGS.

"After conference and correspondence between the chairman and other commissioners, a meeting for organization was held in the United States Capitol, beginning April 20 and ending May 3 (1907). A second meeting and inspection trip on the Mississippi River from St. Louis to The Passes took place May 13 to May 23. A third meeting and inspection trip, first on the Great Lakes from Cleveland to Duluth, next on the Mississippi from St. Paul to Memphis, and then on the Missouri from Kansas City to St. Louis, took place September 21 to October 13. A fourth meeting was held in the United States Capitol, beginning on November 25, 1907, for the purpose of preparing a preliminary report; it ended February 3, 1908."

The report above referred to was adopted and transmitted to President Roosevelt on February 3, 1908, and by him transmitted to Congress on February 26, 1908.

The report was printed as Senate Document No. 325, Sixtieth Congress, first session, entitled "Preliminary Report of the Inland Waterways Commission."

The work of the Inland Waterways Commission ended with this report, on which no action was taken by Congress at that time.

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Subsequently the United States National Waterways Commission, composed of 12 Members of the Senate and House of Representatives, was created by act of Congress of March 3, 1909.

The statute creating the National Waterways Commission provided that a preliminary report should be filed not later than January 1, 1910, containing conclusions reached by the commission upon the several subjects investigated. Such a report was made.

This United States National Waterways Commission, "having concluded its investigation of questions relating to water transportation and the improvement of waterways," ended its labors by the submission to Congress of its final report, which was ordered printed on March 25, 1912, and was thereafter printed as Senate Document No. 469, Sixty-second Congress, third session, entitled "Final Report of the National Waterways Commission."

The preliminary report of this commission was printed in full on pages 65 to 95 of that same volume.

No action based on these reports of the United States National Waterways Commission has ever been taken by Congress.

The action now taken by the adoption of the river-regulation policy embodied in section 18 of the pending river and harbor bill is in accordance with the recommendations not of the National Waterways Commission but of the Inland Waterways Commission, as set forth in the report of the Inland Waterways Commission made on February 3, 1916, the closing paragraph of the final recommendations of that report having been as follows:

"We recommend that the Congress be asked to authorize the coordination and proper development of existing public services connected with waterways, and we suggest that such enactment might provide that the President of the United States be authorized, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint and organize a national waterways commission, to bring into coordination the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the Bureau of Soils, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Corporations, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the public service in so far as their work relates to inland waterways, and that he be authorized to make such details and require such duties from these branches of the public service in connection with navigable and source streams as are not inconsistent with law; the said commission to continue the investigation of all questions relating to the development and improvement and utilization

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of the inland waterways of the country and the conservation of its natural resources related thereto, and to consider and coordinate therewith all matters of irrigation, swamp and overflow land reclamation, clarification and purification of streams, prevention of soil waste, utilization of water power, preservation and extension of forests, regulation of flow and control of floods, transfer facilities and sites and the regulation and control thereof, and the relations between waterways and railways; and that the commission be empowered to frame and recommend plans for developing the waterways and utilizing the waters, and as authorized by Congress to carry out the same through established agencies, when such are available, in cooperation with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals in such manner as to secure equitable distribution of costs and benefits."

A comparison of the foregoing recommendation of the Inland Waterways Commission with the river-regulation amendment embodied in section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917 exemplifies the fact that after an interval of nine years and seven months, during which the report of the Inland Waterways Commission has lain dormant and the commission has been out of existence, the tenacity of purpose of the advocates of river regulation has finally prevailed to the extent, at least, of securing the inauguration of so much of the national policy of river regulation as was recommended in the section quoted above from the report of the Inland Waterways Commission of February, 1908.

The complete statement of the conclusions of the Inland Waterways Commission, as embodied in this preliminary report of February 3, 1908, hereinbefore referred to, was as follows:

"The commission is fully aware that its creation was due to a demand of the people, and that there exists an expectation in certain localities that the report here presented will include plans extending in detail to the principal waterways of the country. To prepare and consider such plans would require extended study at large expense by engineers and other experts whose services were not available. Under the instructions from the President, and in the absence of funds and of the men and time required for such study, the commission was necessarily confined in preparing this preliminary report to the more general features of 'A comprehensive plan designed for the benefit of the entire country,' viz, a statement of principles and an outline

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of policy, coupled with recommendations which, if adopted, will insure the continuation of the work and the practical application of the principles and policy.

“ FINDINGS.

“ 1. The possibilities of inland navigation are indicated by the fact that there are in mainland United States some 25,000 miles of navigated rivers and at least an equal amount which are navigable or might be made so by improvement; there are also some 2,500 miles of navigable canals and over 2,500 miles of sounds, bays, and bayous readily connectible by canals, aggregating less than 1,000 miles in length, to form inner passages paralleling the Atlantic and Gulf coasts—these being additional to some thousands of miles (reckoned between leading ports) of regularly navigated waters in lakes and landlocked bays. These waterways lie in or along the borders of Alabama, Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, and Wisconsin, i. e., 42 States; while the development of rivers for irrigation, power, and other purposes will also render navigable certain waterways in Arizona, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. Although it is not probable that any considerable share of this vast mileage of navigable waterways will be improved to a high standard of efficiency, at least at an early date, yet the assured growth of the country and the capacity of these waters, not only for navigation but for other uses, render imperative the necessity for their control and utilization as an asset of almost unlimited value. It is desirable that these waterways, of which portions have been surveyed or improved for purposes of navigation, should be further investigated with a view to the systematic development of interstate commerce in coordination with all other uses of the waters and benefits to be derived from them.

“ 2. While the railways of mainland United States have been notably efficient in extending and promoting the production and commerce of the country, it is clear that at seasons recurring

with increasing frequency they are unable to keep pace with production or to meet the requirements of transportation.

“3. While navigation of the inland waterways declined with the increase in rail transportation during the later decades of the past century, it has become clear that the time is at hand for restoring and developing such inland navigation and water transportation as upon expert examination may appear to confer a benefit commensurate with the cost, to be utilized both independently and as a necessary adjunct to rail transportation.

“4. While the decline of navigation in the inland waterways was largely due to the natural growth and legitimate competition attending railway extension, it is also clear that railway interests have been successfully directed against the normal maintenance and development of water traffic by control of water fronts and terminals, by acquisition or control of competing canals and vessels, by discriminating tariffs, rebates, by adverse placement of tracks and structures, and by other means.

“5. Any complete or practically successful plan for the general improvement of waterways must eventually provide for satisfactory adjustment of the relation of rail lines to such waterways. Since present and prospective railways reach all parts of the country while navigable waterways are confined to certain natural lines, it is clear that railways can so control transportation as to leave the waterways insufficient traffic to support the requisite vessels and terminals. The railways have accordingly, save in certain exceptional cases, substantially absorbed the traffic of the country, and unless the present unrestricted and short-sighted competition between the two systems is intelligently adjusted they will continue to do so. So large a portion of railway traffic is free from water competition that railways can readily afford to so reduce rates on those portions affected by such competition as to destroy the profits of the water lines without appreciably affecting the profits of the rail systems which recoup these reductions by higher rates elsewhere. This has been the case with most of the great inland waterways, excepting the Great Lakes, where the conditions of water and traffic approach those of open seas. In spite of the great increase of traffic and the continued improvement of waterways, the total river traffic of the country has steadily decreased both proportionately and absolutely, with the result that few rivers are used to anything approaching their full capacity. It

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will not relieve traffic congestion to improve our waterways unless the improved waterways are used; hence it is obvious that relief from the existing congestion by waterway improvement can be made permanently effective through coordination of rail and water facilities as will insure harmonious cooperation rather than injurious opposition.

“6. Existing data as to the nature and amount of the internal commerce of the country are extremely meager and incomplete. Such information is essential to the intelligent treatment of the inland waterways, and it is desirable that means be employed to obtain it.

“7. Improvements of navigation in inland waterways in the main affect favorably the purity of the waters and the regularity of the supply, and these objects should be carefully kept in mind. The increasing pollution of streams by soil wash and other waste substances connected with a growing population reduces the value of the water for manufacturing purposes and renders the water supply for communities injurious to and often destructive of human life. The prevention of these evils should be considered in any scheme of inland waterway improvement.

“8. Engineering works designed to improve navigation affect favorably the regimen of the streams, including floods and low waters. The annular floods of the United States occasion loss of property reaching many millions of dollars, with considerable loss of life, while the low water of late summer involves large loss in diminished water supply, in reduced power, and in the fouling of streams with consequent disease and death. It has been claimed that in specific cases the cost of works required both to control floods and meet the needs of commerce would be less than the amount of this loss. It is desirable that more detailed information be collected concerning the effects of floods and low waters and their prevention by engineering works and other devices.

“9. The annual soil wash in mainland United States is estimated at about 1,000,000,000 tons, of which the greater part is the most valuable portion of the soil; it is carried into the rivers, where it pollutes the waters, necessitates frequent and costly dredging, and reduces the efficiency of works designed to facilitate navigation and afford protection from floods. The direct and indirect losses from this source have not been measured, but are exceedingly large; and it is desirable that definite determinations be

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made with the view of devising means for reducing the loss to the land and preventing the impairment of the streams for purposes of commerce.

“10. Both the regimen of streams and the purity and clarity of waters are affected by forests and other natural growths and by farming, mining, and other industrial operations over the watersheds in which they gather. Millions of acres in mainland United States have been deforested unnecessarily, and the floods and low waters ascribed to this cause have in some localities occasioned losses commensurate with the value of the timber. Means should be devised and applied for coordinating forestry, farming, mining, and related industries with the uses of streams for commerce and for other purposes.

“11. The effect of wide variations in the level of navigable streams is to render difficult the establishment of necessary terminals for the handling of traffic, and thus to interfere seriously with the utilization of our inland waterways. The prevention or mitigation of such variations would be most helpful to the revival of river traffic, and means to this end should be adopted in plans for waterway improvement.

“12. The storage of flood waters combined with the diversion of streams to arid and semiarid lands for purposes of reclamation by irrigation creates canals and also tends to clarify the waters and increase the seepage or return waters during times of drought. There have already been put under irrigation over 10,000,000 acres of fertile land, adding a quarter of a million homes and several hundred million dollars of taxable wealth, and it is estimated that by fully conserving the waters and by utilizing the water power developed in connection with storage and other works fully three times as much land can be reclaimed in the western half of the United States. It is desirable to continue the collection of data with a view to so adjusting irrigation and power development with navigation and other uses of the streams as to secure the highest value of the water to the greatest number of people.

“13. Locks and certain other works designed to improve navigation commonly produce head and store water in such manner as to develop power available for industrial purposes, while works designed to develop power on navigable and source streams affect the navigation and other uses of river systems; and these uses must necessarily be considered together. Information concerning

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water power in the several States and sections is incomplete, yet it is known to be a vast and intrinsically permanent asset which should be utilized for the benefit of the people of the country, in whose interests it should be administered with careful regard for present and prospective conditions. The facts ascertained in certain specific cases furnish a basis for the claim that the value of the power would pay the cost of all engineering and other works required in such cases to control the streams for navigation and other uses. In the light of recent progress in electrical application, it is clear that over wide areas the appropriation of water power offers an unequaled opportunity for monopolistic control of industries. Whenever water is now or will hereafter become the chief source of power the monopolization of electricity produced from running streams involves monopoly of power for the transportation of freight and passengers, for manufacturing, and for supplying heat, light, and other domestic, agricultural, and municipal necessities to such an extent that unless regulated it will entail monopolistic control of the daily life of our people in an unprecedented degree. There is here presented an urgent need for prompt and vigorous action by State and Federal Governments.

“ 14. Any comprehensive system of improvement of inland waterways will necessarily affect the drainage or reclamation of swamp and overflow lands, which are mainly rich alluvial tracts largely along or near waterways. The construction of dikes and levees or bank-protective works and the deepening of channels are often closely connected with means of control both of overflow and of underflow by drainage. It is estimated that there are 77,000,000 acres of such land, now unproductive, but which, with drainage and protection from overflow, will have exceptionally high agricultural value; if divided into 40-acre farms, these lands will furnish homes for 10,000,000 people.

“ 15. The control of waterways on which successful navigation depends is so intimately connected with the prevention of floods and low waters and works designed for these purposes, with the protection and reclamation of overflow lands and works designed therefor, with the safeguarding of banks and maintenance of channels and works employed therein, with the purification and clarification of water supply and works designed therefor in conjunction with interstate commerce, with control and utilization of power developed in connection with works for the improvement of navigation, with the standardization of

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methods and facilities and the coordinating of waterway and railway instrumentalities, and throughout the larger areas of the country with reclamation by irrigation and drainage and works designed primarily for these purposes that local and special questions concerning the control of waterways should be treated as a general question of national extent, while local or special projects should be considered as parts of a comprehensive policy of waterway control in the interests of all the people.

“16. Governmental agencies whose work is related to the use and control of streams are now in existence in the Federal Departments of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce and Labor, and it is desirable, in order to prevent duplication of work and function and to avoid unnecessary delays in the development of the inland waterways, that means should be provided for coordinating all such agencies.

“17. While precise figures are not now obtainable, it is safe to say that the current value of our inland transportation facilities (of which railways form all but a small percentage) exceeds one-eighth of our national wealth; yet these facilities are so far inadequate that production is impaired and the growth of the country is retarded. While trustworthy estimates can not be made without further data, it is reasonable to anticipate that congestion of interstate commerce can be obviated in large measure by judicious improvement of waterways adapted to barge and boat traffic at a figure much less than that estimated by competent authorities for so increasing railway facilities as to meet present needs. It is desirable that additional data be obtained by requisite expert investigation.

“18. It is conservative to estimate that judicious improvement of the waterways of the country will confer direct benefits through increased transportation facilities which will exceed the cost, while the collateral benefits will be at least comparable with the gain to commerce. Under a coordinated plan such collateral benefits as the enhanced value of lands reclaimed by irrigation and drainage, the value of water power developed, the increased values due to the prevention of floods and low waters, and the great benefits of purified and clarified water will more than balance the cost of the works.

“19. In a comprehensive system of water improvement and control designed to meet present and future needs the practicability of any project will depend not alone on local and general

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demands of commerce, but measurably on attendant natural and industrial conditions, including nature of banks and bed, suitability of the ground as a foundation for works, volume of water, and liability to floods and low stages, configuration of the watershed and its susceptibility to control by judicious agriculture and forestry or by reservoirs and others means, local and general demand for pure-water supply, amount and value of available water power incident to the works, proximity and cost of structural material, relations to existing and prospective projects on the same and neighboring waterways, and all other physical and economic factors entering into or tending to counterbalance the cost; and the local surveys or plans for any project should take account of all such natural and industrial conditions and be adapted to the attainment of maximum benefits at the minimum cost.

“20. Existing data concerning the volume, regimen, and other physical features of most streams are meager and imperfect. Since plans for improving and controlling the waterways and utilizing the waters must rest on these facts it is desirable that means be employed to extend and perfect physical data relating to the navigable and source streams of the country.

“21. The benefits of a comprehensive system of waterway improvement will extend to all the people in the several sections and States of the country, and the means employed should be devised, so far as possible, to distribute the cost equitably through cooperation between Federal agencies, States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals.

“22. In order to improve the inland waterways for navigation and at the same time coordinate the agencies and means of transportation, develop the collateral benefits of waterway improvement, adapt all natural and industrial conditions related with waterways to the attainment of maximum benefits at the minimum cost, and perfect means for distributing the cost equitably between Federal agencies, States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals in a prompt and efficient and economical manner, it is desirable to maintain an administrative agency with large powers for the investigation and elaboration of projects under suitable legislative regulation.

“23. The immediate use of natural resources in the rapid development of the country are often allowed to stand in the way of more beneficent and permanent utilization. This is especially

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true of all resources connected with running waters, the substantial value of which has not been adequately appreciated. It is clearly practicable, without undue expense or interference with current use, to carry out broad plans for the complete development of the resources of the country, and thus assure to the greatest number of people the greatest good for both the present and the future, while if this is not done the temporary or partial development of these resources will prevent their full utilization for the general benefit. Steps should be taken without delay to outline and initiate the more pressing projects of conservation and to apply practically the principle of conservation before it is too late.

“24. Our unsurpassed natural wealth and the eagerness of our people for immediate results regardless of future needs have led to a policy of extravagant consumption of natural resources and to an encouragement of monopoly, whereby an excessive share of such resources has been diverted to the enrichment of the few rather than preserved for the equitable benefit of the many. Monopolistic tendencies have appeared (a) in the extensive control of mineral fuels on public lands, whereby large values essential to the development of the country have passed beyond public regulation; (b) in the acquisition and needless destruction of forests, whose preservation is a public necessity for stream control, for timber supply, and for other purposes; (c) in the acquisition of controlling sites on waterways and the appropriation of valuable water powers with their segregation from public uses without adequate compensation, whereby indispensable utilities escape public regulation in the interests of the people; (d) in the segregation of lands, especially in the semiarid regions, whereby development is retarded, so that the lands remain without benefit to commerce or advantage to the growth of the country; (e) in the control of products and of transportation to disturb the normal values and natural channels of trade, thereby imposing undue burdens on producers and consumers; and (f) in various interferences with the production and commerce of the country, whereby prosperity is curtailed and progress impeded. While such monopolistic tendencies have been conspicuous in connection with the agencies of transportation, they are now in many cases opposing the best utilization of streams by diverting their control from State and Federal jurisdiction in the public interests to personal and corporate means of excessive and burdensome

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profits. Since transportation is a primary factor in the existence and development of any people, and is increasingly important with the growth of population, it is essential that its means should be regulated in the public interests; and any plans for relieving congestion of transportation in the United States should be so framed as to employ all proper State, Federal, and municipal agencies in protecting from monopolistic control not only the agencies and avenues but also the materials of interstate commerce.

“RECOMMENDATIONS.

“A. We recommend that hereafter plans for the improvement of navigation in inland waterways, or for any use of these waterways in connection with interstate commerce, shall take account of the purification of the waters, the development of power, the control of floods, the reclamation of lands by irrigation and drainage, and all other uses of the waters or benefits to be derived from their control.

“B. We recommend that hereafter both local and general benefits to the people shall be fully considered in any such plans for the improvement of navigation in inland waterways or for any use of these waterways in connection with interstate commerce; and that wherever practicable Federal agencies shall cooperate with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals with a view to an equitable distribution of costs and benefits.

“C. We recommend that hereafter any plans for the navigation or other use of inland waterways in connection with interstate commerce shall take full account of transfer facilities and sites and of the location of tracks, grades, bridges, dams, depots, and other works on navigable and source streams with a view to equitable cooperation between waterway and railway facilities for the promotion of commerce and the benefit of the people.

“D. We recommend that any plans for improving the inland waterways shall take account of the present and prospective relation of rail lines to such waterways, and shall ascertain so far as may be whether such waterways when improved will be effectively used in the face of railway competition; and that the relations between railways and waterways be further examined with the purpose of devising means of rendering the two systems complementary and harmonious and making such fair

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division of traffic that rates and management may be coordinated economically and with benefit to the country.

“E. We recommend the adoption of means for ascertaining regularly all facts related to traffic on the inland waterways and for publishing the same in a form suitable for general use.

“F. We recommend the adoption of means for ascertaining and rendering available, at such rate as to meet public necessities, all requisite data related to the physical character and general utility of the navigable and source streams of the country.

“G. We recommend that hereafter any plans for the use of inland waterways in connection with interstate commerce shall regard the streams of the country as an asset to the people, shall take full account of the conservation of all resources connected with running waters, and shall look to the protection of these resources from monopoly and to their administration in the interests of the people.

“H. We recommend that the Congress be asked to make suitable provision for improving the inland waterways of the United States at a rate commensurate with the needs of the people as determined by competent authority; and we suggest that such provision meet these requisites, viz, expert framing of a definite policy; certainty of continuity and coordination of plan and work; expert initiative in the choice of projects and the succession of works; freedom in selection of projects in accordance with terms of cooperation; and the widest opportunity for applying modern business methods.

“I. We recommend that the Congress be asked to authorize the coordination and proper development of existing public services connected with waterways; and we suggest that such enactment might provide that the President of the United States be authorized, with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint and organize a National Waterways Commission, to bring into coordination the Corps of Engineers of the Army, the Bureau of Soils, the Forest Service, the Bureau of Corporations, the Reclamation Service, and other branches of the public service in so far as their work relates to inland waterways, and that he be authorized to make such details and require such duties from these branches of the public service in connection with navigable and source streams as are not inconsistent with law; the said commission to continue the investigation of all questions relating to the development and improvement and utilization of the inland waterways

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of the country and the conservation of its natural resources related thereto, and to consider and coordinate therewith all matters of irrigation, swamp and overflow land reclamation, clarification and purification of streams, prevention of soil waste, utilization of water power, preservation and extension of forests, regulation of flow and control of floods, transfer facilities and sites and the regulation and control thereof, and the relations between waterways and railways; and that the commission be empowered to frame and recommend plans for developing the waterways and utilizing the waters, and as authorized by Congress to carry out the same, through established agencies when such are available, in cooperation with States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals, in such manner as to secure equitable distribution of costs and benefits.

* * * * *

“ Respectfully submitted.

“ THEODORE E. BURTON, *Chairman*.

“ FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

“ WM. WARNER.

“ J. H. BANKHEAD.

“ W J MCGEE.

“ F. H. NEWELL.

“ GIFFORD PINCHOT.

“ HERBERT KNOX SMITH.

“ SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF COMMISSIONER SENATOR FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

“ I concur in the report of the commission, but desire to emphasize my belief that it is of the highest importance that in dealing with subjects relating to the respective powers, rights, and interests of the Nation, States, municipalities, corporations, and individuals large powers and a comparatively free hand should be given to an administrative body of experts in the full development of projects, lest the complexity of the transactions, the time necessary to secure congressional approval, and difference of view as to purpose of method may result in indecision and delay, the worst enemies of effective development.

“ An ample fund should be provided, to be reenforced from time to time either by legislative appropriation or by bond issue, and the administrative board or commission should be given the power not only to investigate projects but also, when determined to be feasible, to enter, with the approval of the President, upon their immediate execution; but the power should

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be limited so as to prevent such administrative body from entering into any contract unless there are sufficient unappropriated moneys in the fund to meet the cost thereof.

“Unless some method of construction and development insuring prompt decision and execution and continuous and consecutive work by a body of experts is adopted, I fear that the best of projects may be wrecked in the shoals and quicksands of legislation.

“FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.”

The statement above set forth of the findings and recommendations of the Inland Waterways Commission will be found on pages 18 to 27 and the supplementary report of Commissioner Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS on pages 30 and 31 of the preliminary report of the Inland Waterways Commission, Senate Document No. 325, Sixtieth Congress, first session.

It also appears, as above republished, in Senate Document No. 550, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, entitled “River Regulation, Flood Control, and Water Conservation and Utilization. Hearing before the subcommittee of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, on S. 5736, a bill to promote interstate commerce, agriculture, and the general welfare by providing for the development and control of waterways and water resources; for water conservation; for flood control, prevention, and protection; for the application of flood waters to beneficial uses; and for cooperation in such work with States and other agencies, and for other purposes,” pages 147 to 153.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S RECOMMENDATION

In the letter of transmittal by the President to Congress of the report of the Inland Waterways Commission on February 26, 1908, President Roosevelt closed the letter with the following urgent recommendation:

“The development of our waterways and the conservation of our forests are the two most pressing physical needs of the country. They are interdependent, and they should be met vigorously, together, and at once. The question of organization, powers, and appropriations are now before Congress. There is urgent need for prompt and decisive action.”

EVOLUTION OF NEWLANDS RIVER-REGULATION BILL.

From that time until the present the effort to secure action from Congress has never ceased. The campaign has been steadfastly

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and continuously conducted. In nearly every session of Congress measures have been urged by Senator NEWLANDS with a view to securing action that would inaugurate the broad and comprehensive river regulation, waterways, and water resources national policy embodied in the river-regulation amendment which Congress has now adopted. Until this session no such comprehensive legislation has been enacted. Congress has confined its action to such incomplete, inadequate, and piecemeal or local legislation as the White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest Reserve act, passed in February, 1911, and the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control act, passed at the last session.

The following references to bills introduced and to debates and remarks in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, and to public addresses and articles in newspapers, periodicals, and magazines by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, from 1894 to 1917, furnishes an historical reference record, extending over a period of 23 years, of the development of the river-regulation movement from the reclamation movement originating in the West, and of the evolution of congressional action relating to that movement, from the earliest measures introduced down to the final inauguration of the comprehensive river regulation and waterways and water resources policy embodied in the river-regulation amendment, section 18, of the river and harbor bill of 1917:

August 11, 1894: Remarks of Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, in the House of Representatives, on reclamation of arid lands. (Cong. Rec., vol. 26, pt. 8, p. 8427.)

February 17, 1896: Remarks in House on irrigation investigations. (Cong. Rec., vol. 28, pt. 2, p. 1815.)

March 14, 1898: Introduced H. R. 9080, for construction of reservoirs in the arid region (Cong. Rec., vol. 31, pt. 3, p. 2792.)

December 19, 1899: Introduced H. R. 4751, directing Secretary of Interior to make surveys and report cost of erecting reservoirs in arid region, and making appropriations for same. (Cong. Rec., vol. 33, pt. 1, p. 594.)

December 17, 1900: Introduced H. R. 12844, for the disposition and settlement of arid lands, etc. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 386.)

January 9, 1901: Remarks in House; Storage reservoirs—The arid lands question—Missouri headwaters improvement. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 1, p. 784.)

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January 11 and February 9, 1901: Made statements at hearings before House Committee on Arid Lands.

January 15, 1901: Offered amendment for construction of two reservoirs on the Humboldt River. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1056.)

January 15, 1901: Remarks in House on Missouri headwaters improvement. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1055.)

January 15, 1901: Remarks on Humboldt River improvement. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1056.)

January 26, 1907: Introduced H. R. 13846, for the reclamation of arid lands. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1542.)

January 30, 1901: Remarks in House on irrigation. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 2, p. 1700.)

February 6, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14072, to construct public works for river regulation in the arid region. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2047.)

February 6, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14088, to construct reservoirs, etc., in the arid region. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2047.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks on cost of determining water supply. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2665.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks on Nevada and its need of irrigation. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2662.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks in House, Labor's intelligent appreciation of the reclamation projects. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2664.)

February 19, 1901: Remarks on Nevada and irrigation. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 3, p. 2665.)

March 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14326, to store water, etc. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3484.)

March 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 14338, to store water, etc. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3605.)

March 12, 1901: Remarks on plan for storing water. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3565.)

March 12, 1901: Remarks in House, to double appropriation for irrigation investigations. (Cong. Rec., vol. 34, pt. 4, p. 3572.)

December 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 51, to authorize and begin the construction of reservoirs, canals, etc., for the irrigation of arid lands in Nevada. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 52.)

December 2, 1901: Introduced H. R. 52, to provide for the disposition of arid public lands, to authorize the construction of

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reservoirs for the storage of waters, etc. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 52.)

January 21, 1902: Remarks in House—Western irrigation measure—Competition of western with eastern farmers (reply to Sibley). (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 836.)

January 21, 1902: Introduced H. R. 9676, appropriating receipts from sales and disposal of public lands in certain States and Territories to construction of irrigation works for reclamation of arid lands (this is the reclamation act now in force). (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 1, p. 851.)

March 8, 1902: H. R. Report 794 on above bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 2549.)

March 10, 1902: Same; views of minority. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 2549.)

March 20, 1902: Remarks in House on irrigation of arid lands. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 3088.)

April 7, 1902: H. R. Report 1468 on S. 3057, same. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 4, p. 3812.)

May 14, 1902: Remarks in House on reclamation of arid lands. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 8, Appendix, p. 253.)

June 12, 1902: Remarks in House on H. R. 9315, irrigation of arid lands. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 7, p. 6673.)

June 13, 1902: Remarks in House, same. (Cong. Rec., vol. 35, pt. 7, p. 6731.)

July 6, 1902: Article in Washington Post on irrigation.

October 15, 1903: "Watering the desert"; article in the Youth's Companion.

November 1, 1903: Article in Twentieth Century West on irrigation.

March 25, 1904: Reform of land laws—State cooperation in irrigation—Nevada irrigation statute; remarks in House. (Cong. Rec., vol. 38, pt. 4, p. 3667.)

December 26, 1904: Walker River storage. Correspondence about Walker River water rights.

January 17, 1905: Walker River storage. Correspondence about Walker River water rights.

March 2, 1905: Resources of the semiarid region; Senate Document No. 191, published at Mr. NEWLANDS's request.

June —, 1905: Remarks at banquet to irrigation party at Red Bluffs, Cal.

June 30, 1905: Remarks at Sheridan, Wyo.

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September —, 1906: "Irrigation as a social problem"; article in the *Pacific Monthly*.

March 14, 1907: Mr. NEWLANDS was appointed by President Roosevelt a member of the Inland Waterways Commission.

April 29, 1907: The commission organized at Washington, D. C., and selected Mr. NEWLANDS as vice chairman.

May 13-23, 1907: The commission made a trip on the Mississippi River, from St. Louis to The Passes. Mr. NEWLANDS spoke at St. Louis.

September 3, 1907: Addressed the National Irrigation Congress, at Sacramento, on waterways.

September 21 to October 13, 1907: Commission made a trip on the Great Lakes, from Cleveland to Duluth; on the Mississippi from St. Paul to Memphis; and on the Missouri from Kansas City to St. Louis. Senator NEWLANDS accompanied it. He spoke at several places on the route, including St. Paul (Sept. 27), Memphis (Oct. 5), Kansas City (Oct. 7), and Jefferson City (Oct. 10).

October 26, 1907: Spoke on waterways before the University Club, at Washington, D. C.

November 19, 1907: Made the opening address at the Atlantic Deeper Waterways Conference, Philadelphia.

November 26, 1907: Spoke at the National Drainage Congress, Baltimore, Md.

December 4, 1907: Introduced S. 500, for the appointment of an inland waterways commission, etc., and spoke briefly in its support. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 1, p. 143.)

December 5, 1907: Address before National Rivers and Harbors Congress, Washington, D. C.

December 17, 1907: Remarks in Senate on waterways and on S. 500. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 1, pp. 389, 400.)

January 1, 1908: Article in the *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science* on the "Use and development of American waterways."

January 3, 1908: Addressed the Springfield (Mass.) Board of Trade.

January 22, 1908: Spoke at the banquet of the National Board of Trade, Washington, D. C.

January 30, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS spoke before the Traffic Club, at their annual banquet, Chicago.

February 7, 1908: Article on waterways in the *Christian Endeavor World*, Boston, Mass.

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February 7, 1908: Address before chamber of commerce, Atlanta, Ga.

February 26, 1908: Joined with the Inland Waterways Commission in their preliminary report.

March 5, 1908: Article on waterways in Leslie's Weekly.

April 8, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS spoke before the waterways section of the Southern Commercial Congress at Nashville.

April 11, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS addressed the National Drainage Congress at New Orleans.

April 16, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS spoke on waterways at a banquet given by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce in honor of the Flood Commission.

May 13, 1908: Mr. NEWLANDS introduced S. 7112. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6175.)

May 14, 1908: S. 7112 reported from Committee on Commerce with amendment. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6226.)

May 15, 1908: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6333.)

May 16, 1908: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 6403-6405.)

May 19, 1908: Reported S. 7112 as substituted for H. R. 21899. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6525.)

May 20, 1908: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 6577.)

May 23, 1908: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 6808-6811.)

May 26, 1908: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, pp. 6950, 6965, 6972.)

May 28, 1908: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 42, pt. 7, p. 7124, Appendix.)

November 25, 1908: Addressed the River Regulation Commission of Stockton, Calif., on waterways.

December 10, 1909: Introduced S. 3717, for the formation of an inland waterways commission, etc. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 1, p. 76.)

February 16, 1910: River regulation amendment to rivers and harbors bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 1963.)

February 17, 1910: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 1998.)

February 18, 1910: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 2, pp. 2067-2072.)

February 22, 1910: Amendment to S. 6168 for Government business methods commission. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 2, p. 2204.)

April 11, 1910: Rivers and harbors bill debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 5, p. 4496.)

April 15, 1910: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 5, pp. 4805-4809.)

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April 18, 1910: Debate on rivers and harbors bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 5, pp. 4877, 4885, 4893, 4894, 4895, 4896.)

April 19, 1910: River regulation, amendment to rivers and harbors bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 5, pp. 4972, 4984.)

June 8, 1910: Debate, rivers and harbors bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 7, pp. 7601-7602.)

June 23, 1910: Amendment to Senate bill 4501, Appalachian and White Mountain Forest Reserve bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 45, pt. 8, p. 8813.)

January 17, 1911: River regulation, amendment to rivers and harbors bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 46, pt. 1, p. 983.)

February 3, 1911: Article in the Commoner on "Suggested Legislation," containing river-regulation program.

February 15, 1911: Debate on Appalachian bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 46, pt. 3, pp. 2577-2587, 2592-2595.)

March 1, 1911: Introduced S. 10900. (Cong. Rec., vol. 46, pt. 4, p. 3752.)

March 15, 1911: Letter to Hon. Champ Clark, waterways as a part of the legislative program.

April 6, 1911: Introduced S. 122. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 1, p. 103.)

May 11, 1911: Introduced S. Res. 41, legislative program.

May 15, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 2, pp. 1205-1213.)

May 16, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 2, pp. 1225-1229.)

May 24, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 2, pp. 1546-1547.)

June 24, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 3, pp. 2443-2448.)

July 22, 1911: Introduced S. Res. 109, legislative program. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 4, p. 3176.)

July 24, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 4, pp. 3181-3189.)

August 4, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 47, pt. 4, p. 3601.)

December 7, 1911: Introduced S. Res. 159.

December 11, 1911: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 1, pp. 186-188.)

January 23, 1912: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 1, pp. 648, 657.)

April 13, 1912: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 5, pp. 4705, 4706.)

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April 30, 1912: Amendment to H. R. 21447, rivers and harbors bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 6, p. 5576.)

April 30, 1912: Waterways. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 6, pp. 5576, 5577.)

May 9, 1912: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 6, pp. 6110-6119; Appendix, pp. 216-228.)

July 18, 1912: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 9, p. 9220.)

July 26, 1912: H. R. 21214. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 10, pp. 9707, 9708.)

August 9, 1912: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 48, pt. 11, pp. 10572-10574.)

October 3, 1912: Article in the Independent on "Possibilities of a Democratic administration," including the subject of waterways.

February 19, 1913: Amendment to river and harbor bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 49, pt. 4, p. 3400.)

February 20, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 49, pt. 4, pp. 3478-3498)

February 22, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 49, pt. 4, p. 3636.)

February 24, 1913: River regulation commission debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 49, pt. 4, pp. 3786-3791.)

March 1, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 49, pt. 5, pp. 4365-4376.)

April 10, 1913: Article in the Independent: Control of our waterways.

March 13, 1913: Introduced S. Res. No. 4; debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 16-17.)

March 17, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 33-34.)

April 21, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 1, p. 205.)

May 5, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 210-211.)

May 19, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 1, pp. 265-267.)

May 20, 1913: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1092.)

July 14, 1913: Introduced S. 2739: A bill to create a waterways commission and a board of river regulation. The bill is printed in full on pages 2393 to 2395 of the Record of this date. (Cong. Rec., vol. 50, pt. 3, pp. 2392-2395.)

January 31, 1914: Introduced an amendment in the nature of a substitute for S. 2739, this substitute bearing the same number, and being known as the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill. It is printed in full in the Record of this date. (Cong. Rec., vol. 51, pt. 3, pp. 2635-2638, 2640.)

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In his remarks on the introduction of this bill Senator NEWLANDS said:

“I wish to introduce the bill which I send to the desk as a substitute for the bill (S. 2739) known throughout the country as the Newlands river-regulation bill, submitted by me on July 14, 1913. This substitute is intended to remove all doubt as to the purpose of the original bill regarding the Mississippi River. It proposes to make the Mississippi River, with its banks, its levees, its spillways, and its cut-offs, a national highway.”

In the Congressional Record of this same date, following the bill, articles were printed, entitled as follows:

1. Editorial from the Memphis News-Scimitar, January 15, 1914.

2. Editorial from the Mobile Item, January 22, 1914.

3. Resolutions of the Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, fourteenth annual session, Seattle, Wash., August 18–21, 1903.

4. Flood control—Impounding waters at their sources, by George H. Maxwell. From the Southern Lumberman, Nashville, Tenn., December, 1914. (Cong. Rec., vol. 51, pt. 3, pp. 2634–2640.)

June 22, 1914: River-regulation amendment to rivers and harbors bill introduced with explanatory remarks. Amendment printed in Record and referred to Senate Committee on Commerce. (Cong. Rec., vol. 51, pt. 11, pp. 10833–10834.)

July 9, 1914: Debate; discussion of the river-regulation amendment, the Newlands-Broussard bill, and the river and harbor bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 51, pt. 12, pp. 11864–11866.)

December 23, 1914: Reintroduction river-regulation amendment, remarks on river-regulation bill, Democratic platforms, 1908–1912.

In the course of his remarks Senator NEWLANDS said:

“The President, without committing himself to this or any measure, is inclined to favor the general principles of the bill; but he does not think that there is time enough for its consideration at the short session.

“While I am reluctant to lessen the pressure for legislation on this important question, and believe that the force of public sentiment should be continuously exerted, and while I have reason to believe that the measure which I have been advocating has the support of thinking people in every section of the country, I can not take exception to the position of the Presi-

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dent, burdened as he is with the advocacy of other measures of great importance. I have therefore concluded not to press the matter in any form at this session unless a decided change in the conditions takes place.

"I wish, however, to impress the friends of river regulation and water development with these facts:

"First. That public opinion is against the present system of river and harbor improvements.

"Second. That the committees of the Senate and House are favorable to the present system and will abandon it with great reluctance.

"Third. That it is necessary for that reason to maintain the pressure of a sound public opinion in order to force the consideration of the measure.

"To this end I think it important that the development of the rivers should be entirely separated from the development of the harbors. The harbors are a part of foreign commerce. The rivers are a part of interstate commerce. The harbors bill should go to the Commerce Committee in the Senate. The river-regulation bill should, in my judgment, in the Senate go to the Interstate Commerce Committee, of which I am chairman, and not to the Commerce Committee, as the chairman of the Commerce Committee contends.

"In the Senate this bill now lies on the table awaiting the determination of the Senate itself as to which committee the bill shall go. If it goes to the Interstate Commerce Committee, we can then formulate all the necessary legislation that will make river development dovetail with the development of railroad transportation. Provisions can be secured in that legislation that will prevent the destruction of river transportation by the unfair competition of the railroads. Interstate commerce is one subject, and it should not be divided between two committees.

"For the reasons above given I have concluded not to press the river-regulation bill at this session, but to press it with vigor at the next session of Congress, and I urge all who feel the importance of river regulation to bring the weight of their personal influence to its support. It has been indorsed throughout the entire country by chambers of commerce, boards of trade, and waterway associations. It has been hospitably received by the press of the country. It has received the indorsement of several

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State legislatures. It is the only concrete measure upon which public opinion can be concentrated. It is no new thing.

“Pressure for the bill gives concrete expression to a favorable public sentiment regarding the principles of the bill and does away with the necessity for tedious elaboration in its advocacy. I invite the hearty support of all people who believe that water is a valuable asset; that it should be conserved and regulated as such, and that its highest uses should be developed and maintained with scientific accuracy. As the President so happily expressed it to the irrigation congress at Salt Lake, ‘the floods should be turned from a menace into a blessing.’

“Now, Mr. President, I offer, but not with a view to pressing the matter, an amendment to the river and harbor bill similar to the one which I offered at the last session. That amendment refers simply to the organization of the commission, and not to the creation of a fund.”

The river-regulation amendment above referred to is printed in the Record of this date. (Cong. Rec., vol. 52, pt. 1, pp. 623–624.)

February 4, 1916: Remarks in protest against inadequate methods of dealing with flood problem. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 3, p. 2105.)

February 19, 1916: The Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill proposed as an amendment to the Shields water-power bill (S. 3331). (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 3, p. 2805.)

March 8, 1916: Debate. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 4, pp. 3732–3736.)

April 11, 1916, Senator NEWLANDS presented the following documents, which were printed in full in the Record:

1. Telegram from Walter Parker, general manager New Orleans Association of Commerce, to Hon. William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce, dated February 15, 1916, and containing a copy of telegram from Woodrow Wilson to FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, president Irrigation Congress, Salt Lake City, Utah, dated Seagirt, N. J., September 20, 1912.

2. Letter from President Woodrow Wilson to Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, United States Senate, dated the White House, April 3, 1916, transmitting report of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee, dated Washington, February 26, 1916, and signed by the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 6, p. 5871.)

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April 11, 1916: Remarks by Senator NEWLANDS explaining the difference between the Ransdell-Humphreys flood-control bill and the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill, and the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee with relation to both bills. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 6, p. 5872.)

April 17, 1916, Senator NEWLANDS introduced river-regulation amendment to river and harbor bill (H. R. 12193) with the following remarks:

“Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed by me to the river and harbor bill, embracing the recommendations of the Secretaries of the Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce to the President of the United States, regarding a full and broad system of river regulation and control. These recommendations were recently transmitted to me by the President of the United States in a letter, which, with the accompanying recommendations, were at my instance recently printed in the Record. They were recommendations made by an interdepartmental committee appointed by the President two years ago, consisting of the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce. Owing to a vacancy in the War Secretaryship the recommendations were signed only by the three other Secretaries, but I am informed that the recently appointed Secretary of War is in harmony with them. The letter of the President and the recommendations of the Secretaries will be found in the Congressional Record of April 11, 1916.” (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 7, p. 6269.)

The river-regulation amendment introduced as aforesaid on April 17, 1916, is printed in full in the Congressional Record of that date, pages 6269–6270.

April 24, 1916: Introduced S. 5736. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 7, p. 6688.)

May 9, 1916: Remarks prompted by discussion of appropriation in rivers and harbors bill as to floods in Kansas; conference at office of governor of Kansas; inadequacy of flood-control bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 8, p. 7656.)

May 18, 1916: Remarks: Flood-control bill; correspondence with Hon. B. G. Humphreys. The Humphreys bill and the Newlands bill printed in parallel columns. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 8, pp. 8232–8235.)

May 18, 1916: Remarks: Coordination of rail and water transportation. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 8, p. 8248.)

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May 22, 1916: Remarks in protest against piecemeal character of river and harbor appropriations and urging necessity of comprehensive plan. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8435-8437.)

May 24, 1916: Debate, same subject, and also flood-control bill; protest against organization of National Waterways Commission in March, 1909; investigation should now be followed by the actual work of construction. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8568-8572.)

May 26, 1916: Remarks: Shafroth amendment requiring 20 per cent contribution from States on river and harbor improvements. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8703-8705.)

May 26, 1917: Introduced river-regulation amendment to river and harbor bill, H. R. 12193, which was ordered to lie on the table and be printed. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, p. 8729.)

May 27, 1917: River-regulation amendment offered, the river and harbor bill being under consideration:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. I wish to offer the same amendment that was offered and put into the river and harbor bill some three years ago regarding the creation of a river regulation commission with powers of coordination and cooperation. * * *

"Mr. CLARKE (chairman of the Commerce Committee). I trust that the Senate will permit the amendment to be adopted without comment. * * *"

The amendment was read and appears in full in the Record of this date on page 8763. The point of order being made against the amendment that it is general legislation on an appropriation bill, the amendment was temporarily withdrawn. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, p. 8763.)

May 29, 1917: River-regulation amendment again offered, with the following remarks:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I renew the amendment I offered the other day, an amendment which was inserted in the river and harbor bill some two years ago by the Senate." (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, p. 8832.)

The amendment was subsequently stricken out on a reserved point of order. (See p. 8835.)

May 31, 1917: Debate as to reference of flood-control bill, H. R. 14777: An act to provide for the control of floods in the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers; relation of flood control to waterway transportation. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 9, pp. 8953-8957.)

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August 1, 1916: Remarks prompted by floods in Alabama, North and South Carolina. (Cong. Rec., vol. 53, pt. 12, p. 11908.)

December 21, 1916: Introduced a bill (S. 7510) providing for the control of waterways and water resources, for water conservation, for flood control, prevention, and protection. (Cong. Rec., vol. 54, pt. 1, p. 635.)

February 10, 1917: Remarks:

"Mr. NEWLANDS. I wish to ask of the chairman of the Committee on Commerce whether there is reported in the river and harbor bill a provision for the organization of a waterways commission, composed of departmental chiefs and distinguished engineers, who are to make a thorough study of all the questions that relate to the development of our waterways for navigation and other purposes?"

The chairman of the Commerce Committee replied that such provision had been embodied in the bill, and the amendment (the river-regulation amendment) is printed on page 2990 of the Record. (Cong. Rec., vol. 54, pt. 3, pp. 2989-2990.)

February 26, 1917: Debate: Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control bill, on the passage of the bill. (Cong. Rec., vol. 54, pt. 3, pp. 4282, 4290, 4292, 4294, 4298.)

THE NEWLANDS RIVER-REGULATION AMENDMENT.

The first Newlands river-regulation amendment was introduced in the Senate as an amendment to the river and harbor bill by Senator NEWLANDS on February 16, 1910, and on February 18 was reintroduced by him, with a brief amendment, and is printed in full in the Congressional Record of the latter date.

At that time Senator NEWLANDS addressed the Senate on the subject of this amendment, and from his remarks the following is quoted:

"THE WATERWAYS CAMPAIGN.

"Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, the question of the development of the waterways of the country has been receiving great attention within the past few years. Various organizations have been formed throughout the country relating to the development of our waterways, associations appropriately named for the promotion of such development in the Mississippi Valley, on the various tributaries of the Mississippi, on the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Gulf coasts. This movement reached such headway through conventions and river and harbor congresses that Mr. Roosevelt,

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then President, took the matter in hand and appointed a commission in aid of his power of recommendation to Congress, called 'the Inland Waterways Commission,' which made a preliminary report to him, which report was subsequently submitted to Congress.

"It was my privilege to serve on that commission, and whilst a member of it I introduced a bill, Senate bill No. 500, in the Sixtieth Congress, first session, for the organization of an inland waterway commission, for the coordination of the various scientific services of the Government that related in any way to the development of our waterways and water resources, and for cooperation between the Nation and the States, municipalities, and private interests in the development of these waterways. That bill, with certain modifications, was approved by the then Secretary of War and by the Inland Waterways Commission, of which Mr. Burton, of Ohio, was the chairman. It was referred to the Commerce Committee and there considered. But it did not come up for passage.

"Since then Congress itself took the matter in hand and appointed a National Waterways Commission, composed entirely of Senators and Representatives, the previous Inland Waterways Commission appointed by the President under his executive power of recommendation being a mixed commission, consisting of two Senators, two Members of the House of Representatives, and five others—the Chief of the Engineer Corps of the Army, the Chief of the Reclamation Service, the Chief of the Forestry Service, the Chief of the Bureau of Soils, and the Chief of the Bureau of Corporations.

"Both these commissions have agreed substantially upon the lines of their recommendation as to legislation. They have declared for coordination of the scientific and constructive services of the Government in this great work and for the cooperation of the Nation with States, municipalities, corporations, and individuals that have any jurisdiction over or any right or interest in the development of our waterways, the purpose being to unite the information, the experience, of the scientific services of the Government, and to unite the energies of all the various sovereignties and of all the corporations and individuals having jurisdiction over or interest in the water resources of the country in developing our waterways, not only for navigation, but for every other useful purpose.

* * * * *

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"THE RELATED USES OF WATER.

"Mr. President, I imagine that there will be little difference of opinion that these related questions of forestry, of the reclamation of arid lands, of the drainage of swamp lands, of the development of water power, and the clarification of streams, all have a relation to the development of waterways for the purpose of navigation. The development of a waterway for navigation may be entirely impracticable because of its cost; but if we can unite with the development of that waterway the reclamation of the arid lands above, the drainage of swamp lands below, and the intermediate development of valuable water power, we then add to the natural resources of the country and create values which in themselves will be compensatory of the entire work, whereas the work would not be in any measure self-compensatory if confined to navigation alone.

"We have in this Government various scientific services, services of a very high standard, services of great esprit de corps, services that have won the admiration and respect not only of Congress, but of the entire country. These services are now acting entirely separate and apart from each other, and yet they are all practically acting upon parts of the same subject matter.

"We have the Engineer Corps of the Army operating simply upon the question of navigation. Their efforts thus far have been largely confined simply to the maintenance of a stable channel through the operations of dredging and bank protection. We have the Reclamation Service engaged in the diversion of the flood waters of the upper reaches of streams, carrying those flood waters over the arid lands, and thus aiding in the prevention of the extraordinary floods which impair the efficiency of the channel of the river below. We have in them an agency for flood prevention and for the storage of the flood waters which will aid and promote navigation. Then, we have below vast areas of swamp land, rich with alluvial soil, the deposits of ages, almost useless because of the annual overflow, and the channel of the river itself so scattered and diverse as not to permit navigation anywhere.

"The problem there is to make one navigable channel by bank protection and by bank levees, and by one process thus clear the channel for navigation, and at the same time promote the reclamation of vast areas of rich and fertile land. So also in the development of our works for navigation we are compelled in places to provide for dams and locks in the rapids of the river

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where there is a rapid fall, and those dams and locks are useful for the development of water power, which in itself is partly compensatory of the project.

“We have, then, the Reclamation Service; we have the Forestry Service; we have the Weather Service; we have the Soils Service; we have the Coast and Geodetic Survey; and we have the Geological Survey, all of them engaged in the study of questions relating to water, its development, and its regulation and control. Is it not the businesslike thing to provide some method by which those services can be brought together for consultation and joint action?

“The purpose of this amendment is to permit the President of the United States to bring into coordination, through a board or boards, these related services; to bring them into coordination with the Corps of Engineers of the Army, leaving that as the central organization in connection with the development of our waterways, as it has been for so many years, but giving it the benefit of the advice and the accumulated experience and information of these great services which have been making a study of similar subjects.

“WATER AND RAIL COOPERATION.

“Then there is the question of transportation. The National Waterways Commission in its very elaborate and able report presents the question of the development of our waterways in connection with railways, insisting that the decline of waterway transportation thus far has been due to the fact that the railways have discouraged water transportation and have sought by unfair competition to destroy it. So, in connection with this great work, we should be allowed the opportunity of calling upon the great transportation experts of the country, and also the members of the Interstate Commerce Commission themselves, for the purpose of advising this board, or these boards, regarding methods that will bring water and rail into cooperation and make each the friend and ally instead of the enemy of the other.

“TRANSPORTATION A CHARGE ON OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

“The railroad managers have declared that it is essential, in order to meet the transportation requirements of the country in the near future, that at least \$5,000,000,000 shall be expended upon the railways of the country. That \$5,000,000,000 is a charge

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upon the natural resources of the country, as is so well stated in the report of the national commission. The interest upon it, amounting to at least \$250,000,000 annually, will be paid by the shippers of the country, and is it not a wise thing for us to consider whether we can not reduce in part the necessity for such enormous expenditure by spending within the next 10 years \$500,000,000, and even perhaps a billion dollars in the aggregate? It is reasonable to suppose that the expenditure of a billion dollars in waterway transportation at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year during the next 10 years will save more than half of the necessary expenditure of \$5,000,000,000 upon the railways.

“Why is it that the railways have been unequal to the transportation requirements of the country? Why was it that two or three years ago they broke down just before the panic? It was simply because the railroads were made the agencies of transporting the bulky and cheap products of the country, products which could be better and more cheaply carried by water, and in reference to the transportation of which time was not an essential. Inquire of any railroad man, and you will find that the breaking down of the transportation system of the country was not due to the transportation of the high-priced products, which pay high freight, but to the coarser products, the products of the mine, the products of the field and the farm, such products as in Germany are carried mainly by waterway transportation, and which in this country, if we perfect our waterway transportation, can be carried largely upon the rivers of the country; so that it is important for us to act now and to establish the system under which we are to proceed.

“The amendment which I have offered, whilst not going so far as I would desire to do, as indicated in my appendix to the report of the Inland Waterways Commission, goes as far as the judgment of Congress will at present sanction; but I believe that, so far as providing for coordination of the scientific services of the country, providing for comprehensive plans, and for cooperation between the Nation and the States is concerned, Congress will readily see the propriety of this amendment. Then we will have enlisted not only the information and experience of the Engineer Corps of the Army, but the information and experience of every scientific service of the Government and the services of the best engineers, constructors, and transportation experts of the country in the solution of these important problems; and we can enter

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upon this great work with comprehensive plans, assigning to each sovereign its duty, to each interest its duty, properly apportioning costs and benefits, instead of entering upon an accidental and disjointed development, which may result, I fear, in the shipwreck of the waterway movement of the country.

* * * * *

“THE GOVERNORS’ CONFERENCE.

“If you will read the report of the conference of the governors, unanimously acquiesced in by the governors of the great States, you will find the principles of coordination and of cooperation, such as are outlined in this amendment, clearly sustained and vindicated.

“I quote from the declaration of the governors, as follows:

“‘We declare our firm conviction that this conservation of our natural resources is a subject of transcendent importance which should engage unremittingly the attention of the Nation, the States, and the people in earnest cooperation. These natural resources include the land on which we live and which yields our food; the living waters which fertilize the soil, supply power, and form great avenues of commerce; the forests which yield the materials for our homes, prevent erosion of the soil, and conserve the navigation and other uses of the streams; and the minerals which form the basis of our industrial life and supply us with heat, light, and power.

“‘We agree that the land should be so used that erosion and soil wash shall cease; and that there should be reclamation of arid and semiarid regions by means of irrigation, and of swamp and overflowed regions by means of drainage; that the waters should be so conserved and used as to promote navigation, to enable the arid regions to be reclaimed by irrigation, and to develop power in the interests of the people; that the forests, which regulate our rivers, support our industries, and promote the fertility and productiveness of the soil, should be preserved and perpetuated; that the minerals found so abundantly beneath the surface should be so used as to prolong their utility; that the beauty, healthfulness, and habitability of our country should be preserved and increased; that the sources of national wealth exist for the benefit of the people, and that monopoly thereof should not be tolerated.

“‘We commend the wise forethought of the President in sounding the note of warning as to the waste and exhaustion of the

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natural resources of the country, and signify our high appreciation of his action in calling this conference to consider the same and to seek remedies therefor through cooperation of the Nation and the States.

“‘We agree that this cooperation should find expression in suitable action by the Congress within the limits of and coextensive with the national jurisdiction of the subject, and, complementary thereto, by the legislatures of the several States within the limits of and coextensive with their jurisdiction.

“‘We declare the conviction that in the use of the natural resources our independent States are interdependent and bound together by ties of mutual benefits, responsibilities, and duties.

* * * * *

“‘We recognize in our waters a most valuable asset of the people of the United States, and we recommend the enactment of laws looking to the conservation of water resources for irrigation, water supply, power, and navigation, to the end that navigable and source streams may be brought under complete control and fully utilized for every purpose. We especially urge on the Federal Congress the immediate adoption of a wise, active, and thorough waterway policy, providing for the prompt improvement of our streams and the conservation of their watersheds required for the uses of commerce and the protection of the interests of our people.’”

The Newlands river-regulation amendment was agreed to by the Senate as an amendment to the river and harbor bill on February 23, 1913, but was stricken out in conference, as will be seen by reference to the debates in the Senate on the river and harbor bill on March 1, 1913. (Cong. Rec., vol. 49, pt. 5, pp. 4365-4376, 4380, 4427-4428.)

On June 22, 1914, Senator NEWLANDS again introduced the river-regulation amendment, and from his remarks in the Senate at that time the following is quoted:

“Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, I submit an amendment intended to be proposed to the river and harbor appropriation bill, and I desire to make a brief statement in connection therewith.

“Ever since 1907 I have been urging the adoption of a river-regulation bill, providing a commission with a fund of \$60,000,000 annually for 10 years, for the purpose of promoting the development and control of our rivers in the interest of irrigation, and also with a view to the solution of the related ques-

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tions of irrigation, forestry, fisheries, swamp-land reclamation, flood control, water-power development, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of transfer facilities and sites. Two years ago I succeeded in placing an amendment upon the river and harbor bill in the Senate providing for the skeleton organization covered by this bill, but the amendment was lost in conference because of the opposition of the House conferees. Since then, as the result of conferences with Senator Ransdell and Senator-elect Broussard, of Louisiana, the bill has been amended by fully recognizing the Mississippi River as a national problem, and the bill now has the active cooperation of these gentlemen, Mr. Broussard having recently introduced it in the House. The bill is now known as the Newlands-Broussard bill.

“Early in the present administration the President’s attention was called to the bill as a substantial compliance with the Democratic platforms of the past two campaigns, calling in the most specific terms for comprehensive plans, an ample fund, the co-ordination of the scientific services, and the cooperation of the Nation with the States in the full development and control of our rivers for every useful purpose. The President was much interested, and referred the bill to a Cabinet committee consisting of the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce for their study and report. This Cabinet committee is very favorably inclined toward the general lines of the bill, but recommends as a step in the ultimate solution of the problem the adoption of an amendment to the river and harbor bill practically on the lines of the amendment offered by me two years ago and adopted in the Senate. The matter has been the subject of discussion at a Cabinet meeting, and the President approves of this action.

“The most important difference between this amendment and the full bill is that it does not carry the large and continuing appropriation for which the advocates of a comprehensive plan of waterway development have been working. It does, however, provide complete machinery for the coordination of the scientific services of the Government, for the study of the problems involved, and for the formulation of plans. The amendment has the approval of the Secretaries of the departments named, as well as of the President, and is acceptable to me as a step in the right direction, although it does not go as far as I had hoped it might be carried. It is my belief that upon such a substantial founda-

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tion, with the cordial cooperation of the administration, it will be a question of only a comparatively short time until the problem of how to conserve our water resources will be solved in the best possible way.

"I ask that the amendment be printed in the Record and referred to the Committee on Commerce."

There being no objection, the amendment was referred to the Committee on Commerce and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

"SEC. —. That a commission, to be known as the river-regulation commission, consisting of the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, two Members of the Senate to be selected by the President of the Senate, and two Members of the House of Representatives to be selected by the Speaker, is hereby created and authorized to investigate questions relating to the development, improvement, regulation, and control of navigation as a part of interstate and foreign commerce, including therein the related questions of irrigation, forestry, fisheries, swamp-land reclamation, clarification of streams, regulation of flow, control of floods, utilization of water power, prevention of soil waste, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of transfer facilities and sites, and to formulate, if practicable, and to report to the Congress comprehensive plans for the development of the waterways and water resources of the country for every useful purpose through cooperation between the United States and the several States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals within the jurisdiction, powers, and rights of each, respectively, assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control, if any, as can be properly undertaken by the United States by virtue of its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and by reason of its proprietary interest in the public domain, and to States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portion, if any, as properly belongs to their jurisdiction, rights, and interests, with a view to properly apportioning costs and benefits, and with a view to so uniting the plans and works of the United States within its jurisdiction, and of the States and municipalities, respectively, within their jurisdictions, and of corporations, communities, and individuals within their respective powers and rights as to secure the highest devel-

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opment and utilization of the waterways and water resources of the United States. Such river-regulation commission is authorized, for the purpose of said investigation and report, to bring into coordination and cooperation with the Corps of Engineers of the Army, as a board or boards, the other scientific or constructive services of the United States that relate to the study, development, and control of waterways and water resources and subjects related thereto, and to the development and regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, and to consider as a part of its study of a comprehensive plan the continuance of such a board or of such boards with a view to keeping such services in coordination and cooperation; and such river-regulation commission is authorized to appoint as members of such board or boards such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development, constructors, and other employees as it may deem advisable to appoint and employ in connection with the investigation and the formulation of plans herein authorized, and to lease offices. And for the expenses of such investigation, organization, and formulation of plans the sum of \$500,000 is hereby appropriated."

The river-regulation amendment finally passed by Congress on August 3, 1917, and which became a law by the signature of the President on August 8, 1917, is section 18 of H. R. 4285, an act entitled "An act making appropriations for the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors, and for other purposes," Public, No. 37, Sixty-fifth Congress, and is as follows:

"SEC. 18. That a commission, to be known as the Waterways Commission, consisting of seven members to be appointed by the President of the United States, at least one of whom shall be chosen from the active or retired list of the Engineer Corps of the Army, at least one of whom shall be an expert hydraulic engineer from civil life, and the remaining five of whom may each be selected either from civil life or the public service, is hereby created and authorized, under such rules and regulations as the President may prescribe and subject to the approval of the heads of the several executive departments concerned, to bring into coordination and cooperation the engineering, scientific, and constructive services, bureaus, boards, and commissions of the several governmental departments of the United States and commissions created by Congress that relate to study, develop-

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ment, or control of waterways and water resources and subjects related thereto, or to the development and regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, with a view to uniting such services in investigating, with respect to all watersheds in the United States, questions relating to the development, improvement, regulation, and control of navigation as a part of interstate and foreign commerce, including therein the related questions of irrigation, drainage, forestry, arid and swamp land reclamation, clarification of streams, regulation of flow, control of floods, utilization of water power, prevention of soil erosion and waste, storage, and conservation of water for agricultural, industrial, municipal, and domestic uses, cooperation of railways and waterways, and promotion of terminal and transfer facilities, to secure the necessary data, and to formulate and report to Congress as early as practicable a comprehensible plan or plans for the development of waterways and the water resources of the United States for the purposes of navigation and for every useful purpose, and recommendations for the modification or discontinuance of any project herein or heretofore adopted. Any member appointed from the retired list shall receive the same pay and allowances as he would if on the active list, and no member selected from the public service shall receive additional compensation for services on said commission, and members selected from civil life shall receive compensation of \$7,500 per annum.

“In all matters done, or to be done, under this section relating to any of the subjects, investigations, or questions to be considered hereunder, and in formulating plans, and in the preparation of a report or reports, as herein provided, consideration shall be given to all matters which are to be undertaken, either independently by the United States or by cooperation between the United States and the several States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals within the jurisdiction, powers, and rights of each, respectively, and with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as may be undertaken by the United States, and to the States, political subdivisions thereof, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portions as belong to their respective jurisdictions, rights, and interests.

“The commission is authorized to employ or retain and fix the compensation for the services of such engineers, transporta-

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tion experts, experts in water development and utilization, and constructors of eminence as it may deem necessary to make such investigations and to carry out the purposes of this section. And in order to defray the expenses made necessary by the provisions of this section there is hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as Congress may hereafter determine, and the sum of \$100,000 is hereby appropriated, available until expended, to be paid out upon warrants drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury by the chairman of said commission.

“The commission shall have power to make every expenditure requisite for and incident to its authorized work, and to employ in the District of Columbia and in the field such clerical, legal, engineering, artistic, and expert services as it may deem advisable, including the payment of per diem in lieu of subsistence for employees engaged in field work or traveling on official business, rent of offices in the District of Columbia and in the field, and the purchase of books, maps, and office equipment.

“Nothing herein contained shall be construed to delay, prevent, or interfere with the completion of any survey, investigation, project, or work herein or heretofore or hereafter adopted or authorized upon or for the improvement of any of the rivers or harbors of the United States or with legislative action upon reports heretofore or hereafter presented.”

The following is a copy of S. 5736, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, introduced April 24, 1916, by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS with a view to embodying in the Newlands river-regulation bill the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee and the Interdepartmental Committee of Service Chiefs appointed by President Wilson:

“*Be it enacted, etc.,* That the sum of \$60,000,000, to be apportioned as hereinafter provided, is hereby reserved, set aside, appropriated, and made available until expended, out of any moneys not otherwise appropriated, as a special fund in the Treasury, to be known as the ‘river-regulation fund,’ to be used to promote interstate commerce by the development and improvement of the rivers and waterways of the United States and their connections with the Great Lakes and with each other, and by the coordination of and cooperation between rail and water routes and transportation, and the establishment and maintenance of adequate terminal and transfer facilities and systems, and their maintenance, improvement, and protection, and by

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the making of examinations and surveys and by the construction of engineering and other works and projects for the regulation and control of the flow of rivers and their tributaries and source streams, and the standardization of such flow, and by the maintenance of navigable stages of water at all seasons of the year in the waterways of the United States, and by preventing silt and sedimentary material from being carried into and deposited in waterways, channels, and harbors, and by the conservation, development, and utilization of the water resources of the United States, and by flood prevention and protection, through the establishment, construction, and maintenance of natural and artificial reservoirs and detention basins for water storage and control, and levees, revetments, and other bank-protective works, spillways, wasteweirs, wasteways, by-passes, controlled outlets, and flood-control works of every nature and kind, and the protection of watersheds from denudation, erosion, and surface wash, and from forest fires, and the maintenance and extension of woodland and other protective cover thereon, and the reclamation of swamp and overflow lands and arid lands, and the building of drainage and irrigation works in order that the flow of rivers shall be regulated and controlled not only through the use of flood waters for irrigation on the upper tributaries, but also through controlling them in fixed and established channels in the lower valleys and plains, and by doing all things necessary to provide for any and all beneficial uses of water that will contribute to its conservation or storage in the ground or in surface reservoirs as an aid to the regulation or control of the flow of rivers, and by acquiring, by purchase, condemnation, or otherwise, holding, using, leasing, hiring, and transferring by appropriate deed lands and any other property that may be needed for the aforesaid purposes, or which it may be deemed advisable to dispose of, and by doing such other things as may be specified in this act or necessary to the accomplishment of the purposes thereof, and by securing the cooperation therein of States, municipalities, and other local agencies, as hereinafter set forth, and for the payment of all expenditures provided for in this act.

“The aforesaid sum of \$60,000,000, appropriated as hereinbefore provided, shall be apportioned for expenditure under this act as follows:

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“(a) Twenty-five million dollars to the Illinois River and its watershed and to the Mississippi River from the mouth of the Illinois to the Head of the Passes, including the Atchafalaya River as one of the mouths of the Mississippi River, to be expended for the improvement of the Illinois River and for continuing the improvement of the Mississippi River from the Head of the Passes to the mouth of the Illinois River, for the control of floods thereon, and the establishment of a waterway from the Lakes to the Gulf; (b) \$5,000,000 to the watersheds of the Ohio River and its tributaries, for the control of floods thereon, and the consequent improvement of navigation; (c) \$5,000,000 to the watershed of the Mississippi River above the mouth of the Illinois River; (d) \$5,000,000 to the watersheds of the Missouri River and all other tributaries of the Mississippi River, except the Ohio, from the mouth of the Illinois River to the Gulf, and all rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico west of the Mississippi River; (e) \$5,000,000 to the watersheds of the rivers draining into Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Atlantic Ocean and rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico east of the Mississippi River; (f) \$5,000,000 to the watersheds of all the rivers draining into the Pacific Ocean in Oregon and Washington, including the Columbia River watershed; (g) \$5,000,000 to the watersheds of the rivers draining into the Sacramento and San Joaquin Valleys and into the Pacific Ocean north of Santa Barbara, in California; (h) \$5,000,000 to the watersheds of all other rivers in California and the Great Inland Basin and the Colorado River.

“NATIONAL WATERWAYS COUNCIL.

“SEC. 2. That a national waterways council, hereinafter called the council, is hereby created, consisting of the President of the United States as chairman, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce, and the chairman of the water-control board, to be appointed as hereinafter provided.

“The council shall have authority to direct and control all proceedings and operations and all things done or to be done under this act, and to establish all rules and regulations which may, in their judgment, be necessary to carry into effect such direction and control consistent with the provisions of this act and with existing law and with any provisions which Congress may from time to time enact.

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"All plans and estimates prepared by the water-control board, as hereinafter provided, which contemplate or provide for expenditures from the river-regulation fund shall be submitted to the council for final approval before any of the expenditures therein provided for or contemplated are authorized or made or any construction work undertaken or contracts let under or in pursuance of such plans: *Provided*, That in case of an emergency the chairman of the water-control board shall have full power to act, and shall report in detail his action in every case to the council at its next meeting after his action.

" WATER-CONTROL BOARD.

"SEC. 3. That to assist in carrying out the purposes aforesaid the council may utilize the various agencies of the Government, and there is hereby created a water-control board, hereinafter called the board, which shall consist of a chairman, to be appointed by the council, and four assistant secretaries, to be appointed as hereinafter provided, and such additional members as the council may from time to time appoint. The chairman of the board shall receive a salary of \$12,000 per annum, each assistant secretary aforesaid shall receive a salary of \$10,000 per annum, and said additional members of the board such salaries as the council may from time to time fix. Subject to the direction and control of the council as to general policy and procedure, it shall be the duty of the board to ascertain in detail the work in progress and obtain plans, recommendations, and estimates of the work contemplated in the general field of water conservation, control, and utilization by the various agencies of the Government, States, counties, municipalities, districts, communities, corporations, associations, and individuals, and on the basis of such information and the results obtained by its own surveys and investigations to prepare for the consideration of the council a general and comprehensive program of water and waterways conservation, regulation, development, and utilization, extending through a number of years, with comprehensive general plans for each watershed, treating the entire watershed of each river as a unit, and with specific projects, plans, estimates, and recommendations, involving independent work by the United States and the combining of resources and energies of the various public and private agencies aforesaid; to coordinate and bring into conference the various agencies of the Government; and to

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examine, compare, adjust, allot, assign, and supervise their work, to the end that duplication may be avoided and the highest efficiency obtained; by agreement to assign to the various cooperating agencies the work to be done by them within their respective spheres; to accept, on behalf of the United States, from such agencies contributions of money and property of any kind to be used for carrying out the purposes authorized by this act; to make field inspection of all work done or contemplated under this act by the Government and its cooperating agencies; and to employ such engineers, transportation experts, experts in water development, constructors, and other employees, and to construct such buildings and work as may be necessary for those purposes. The board is hereby authorized to expend from the sums herein provided such amounts as may be necessary for services of employees in the city of Washington, D. C., and elsewhere; to pay therefrom such sums as may be necessary for office accommodations in the city of Washington, D. C., and elsewhere, and to purchase such law books, books of reference, periodicals, engineering, statistical, and professional publications as may be needed. Contributions received under this section shall be used by the board, under the direction of the council, for carrying out the purposes of this act, and money so received shall be paid into the river-regulation fund herein created. Subject to the approval of the council, the board is authorized to enter into such contracts or carry on by hired labor or otherwise such work as may be necessary for carrying out the purposes of this act, within the limits of appropriations made or authorized by this act or appropriations or contributions which shall be hereafter made or authorized from time to time, or as may be necessary for executing projects under this act within the respective limits of cost thereof approved by the Congress, the funds for which shall have been provided by the Secretary of the Treasury in accordance with the authority conferred by this act. Subject to the approval of the council, the board may also employ the various agencies of the Government in carrying out such purposes or executing such projects.

“ COOPERATION WITH STATES AND OTHER AGENCIES.

“ SEC. 4. That the board shall, in all cases where possible and practicable, encourage, promote, and endeavor to secure the cooperation of States, municipalities, public and quasi public cor-

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porations, towns, counties, districts, communities, persons, and associations in the carrying out of the purposes and objects of this act, and in making the investigations and doing all coordinative and constructive work provided for herein; and it shall in each case endeavor to secure the financial cooperation of States and of such local authorities, agencies, and organizations to such extent and in such amounts as the council shall determine to be a just and equitable apportionment of work, costs, and benefits under all the circumstances in each case; and it shall negotiate and perfect arrangements and plans for the apportionment of work, cost, and benefits, according to the jurisdiction, powers, rights, and benefits of each, respectively, and with a view to assigning to the United States such portion of such development, promotion, regulation, and control as can be properly undertaken by the United States by virtue of its power to regulate interstate and foreign commerce and promote the general welfare, and by reason of its proprietary interest in the public domain, and to the States, municipalities, communities, corporations, and individuals such portion as properly belongs to their jurisdiction, rights, and interests, and with a view to properly apportioning costs and benefits, and with a view to so uniting the plans and works of the United States within its jurisdiction, and of the States and municipalities, respectively, within their jurisdictions, and of corporations, communities, and individuals within their respective powers and rights, as to secure the highest development and utilization of the waterways and water resources of the United States.

“APPOINTMENT OF WATER-CONTROL BOARD.

“SEC. 5. That each head of a department named in this act is authorized to appoint, with the approval of the council, for service as a member of the board, a highly qualified representative, who shall be an assistant secretary in the department in which he is appointed; shall devote his time primarily to the work authorized by this act; shall have, subject to the direction of the head of the department, such general supervision and control as may be necessary for the purposes of this act of the agencies within the department engaged upon such work; shall serve during good service and behavior; and shall be removable by the head of the department only for good cause.

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“RIVER-REGULATION FUND.

“SEC. 6. That no sums shall be paid out of the river-regulation fund except on vouchers signed by the chairman of the board or by an official designated by him in writing, drawn on the Secretary of the Treasury. To provide for carrying out the projects formulated under this act which involve expenditures in excess of the \$60,000,000 herein appropriated to the river-regulation fund the appropriation hereafter to the credit of said fund of such sums as may be necessary is hereby authorized. At any time that the Secretary of the Treasury shall determine it to be necessary or advisable, in order to provide all or any part of the appropriation made or authorized by this act or which may be hereafter made or authorized or to provide revenues to execute a project under this act, which shall have been approved by the Congress, he may issue and sell, or use as a means of borrowing money, bonds in the necessary amount, in accordance with the provisions of the act of August 5, 1909 (36 Stats. L., pp. 11, 117), the act of February 4, 1910 (36th Stats. L., 192), and the act of March 2, 1911 (36th Stats. L., p. 1013). The sums appropriated or provided by the Secretary of the Treasury pursuant to this section shall be paid into the river-regulation fund and shall be available until expended and paid out as provided for in this act. All moneys received in connection with any operations under this act as well as from the sales of materials utilized and any condemned property shall be covered into the ‘river-regulation fund’ and be available for expenditure therefrom. It is the intent and purpose of this act to authorize and empower the council and the board and their officers, agents, and employees to do all necessary acts and things in addition to those specially authorized in this act to accomplish the purposes and objects hereof.”

The following is a reference to the leading measures which have been introduced by Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS at different times, from which the present river-regulation measure, section 18 of the river and harbor act of 1917, has been developed:

The Newlands national irrigation bill, officially designated after its enactment as the United States reclamation act: H. R. 9674, introduced January 21, 1902.

The inland waterways commission bills: S. 500, introduced December 6, 1907, and S. 3717, introduced December 10, 1909.

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Amendment to S. 4501, the White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest bill: Introduced June 23, 1910.

The Newlands river-regulation bill: S. 10900, introduced March 1, 1911; S. 122, introduced April 6, 1911; S. 2739, introduced July 14, 1913.

The Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill, introduced as an amendment in the nature of a substitute for S. 2739, introduced January 31, 1914.

The Newlands river-regulation bill, providing for a national waterways council and a water-control board, to conform to recommendations of the interdepartmental committee: S. 5736, introduced April 24, 1916.

The reclamation act, known before its passage as the Newlands national irrigation act, was passed by Congress on June 13, 1902, and was signed by President Roosevelt and became a law on June 17, 1902.

The river-regulation act, section 18 of the river and harbor act of 1917, known before its passage as the Newlands river-regulation amendment, was passed by Congress on August 3, 1917, and was signed by President Wilson and became a law on August 8, 1917.

The original Newlands river-regulation bill, S. 10900, was printed in full in the report of the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, pages 391 to 396, and in a public document containing the remarks of Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate on Wednesday, February 15, 1911, on the passage on that day of the Appalachian and White Mountain Forest Reserve bill.

The Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill, amendment to S. 2739, was printed in the Congressional Record, volume 51, part 3, pages 2635-2638, and also in Senate Document No. 418, Sixty-third Congress, second session.

The last Newlands river-regulation bill, embodying the recommendations of the interdepartmental committee, and providing for a national waterways council and water-control board, as recommended in that report, was printed in full in Senate Document No. 550, Sixty-fourth Congress, first session, and has been hereinbefore reprinted in full in this historical statement.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS.

At every stage of its progress this great national movement for the conservation, development, and complete utilization of the water resources of the United States has been opposed on the

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ground that it was an unconstitutional and unwarranted enlargement of the functions of the National Government, and the measures which Congress has finally adopted have each settled some one particular phase of this advancement of the sphere of governmental action.

The United States reclamation act settled forever the right and obligation of the Government of the United States to construct works for the conservation and utilization of the surplus waters in the western half of the United States.

The White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest Reserve act went further and settled the question as to the range and scope of the activities of the Federal Government on the watersheds of the navigable rivers. It established the principle that the constitutional power and obligation of the National Government extends to the source of every tributary stream feeding a navigable river and to the doing of any and all things that may be essential to control and regulate the flow of that river and all its source streams, so as to standardize their flow, so far as practicable, throughout the year. The act provides only for forest methods of accomplishing this object, but if forestry is within its powers and obligations there is no reason why all practicable methods of accomplishing the same result are not equally within the powers and obligations of the National Government, such as the building of artificial surface reservoirs, as advocated by the Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, or the conservation by storage in the ground of waters used for agricultural purposes.

The Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control act again extended the recognized powers and obligations of the National Government to the protection of lands from overflow and flood devastation by engineering works built for that purpose, without any necessary justification for their construction, on the ground that such construction was warranted by their benefit to navigation, as had previously been contended.

And now the river-regulation amendment, section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917, has practically and substantially declared that the powers authorized in the three bills above mentioned shall be extended to and cover the whole field of the conservation, development, and utilization of all the water resources of the United States for every useful and beneficial purpose for which those waters can be used and upon every watershed in the United States.

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The United States reclamation act of June 17, 1902, was only a single stepping-stone to this complete and comprehensive policy; the White Mountain and Appalachian Forest Reserve act was another stepping-stone; the Mississippi and Sacramento Rivers flood-control act was another; and now Congress has, after a campaign always having that ultimate object in view and extending over more than a quarter of a century, unequivocally placed the authority and powers and obligations of the National Government in this broad field upon a nation-wide, enduring, and comprehensive foundation that will in its eventual working out save from waste "the Nation's greatest asset," the surplus and now unused waters of the United States.

The educational campaign that has steadfastly pushed forward this broad and beneficial national policy has been conducted through several different organizations, the oldest being the National Irrigation Congress and the American Forestry Association.

The National Irrigation Congress declared for the national irrigation policy at some of its earliest sessions and squarely put its demands before the people at the seventh national irrigation congress held at Phoenix, Ariz., in 1897, and was unfaltering in its support of that policy until it was adopted by Congress in June, 1902, by the enactment of the reclamation act.

The American Forestry Association championed the White Mountain and Appalachian National Forest Reserve bill, organized a national campaign in its behalf, and marshaled the forces that fought for that bill through a period of fully 10 years until it was finally enacted by Congress in February, 1911.

The National Reclamation Association was organized as the National Irrigation Association on June 2, 1899, for the purpose of conducting a nation-wide campaign for the entire broad national policy advocated in the statement of the objects of the association, as set forth in its constitution, as follows:

" [The National Irrigation Association, organized June 2, 1899.]

" OBJECTS.

"1. The adoption by the Federal Government of a permanent policy for the reclamation and settlement of the public domain under which all the remaining public lands shall be held and administered as a trust for the benefit of the whole people of the United States, and no grants of title to any of the public lands shall ever hereafter be made to any but actual settlers and home builders on the land.

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“ 2. The preservation and development of our natural resources by the construction of storage reservoirs by the Federal Government for flood protection, and to save for use in aid of navigation and irrigation the flood waters which now run to waste and cause overflow and destruction.

“ 3. The construction by the Federal Government of storage reservoirs and irrigation works wherever necessary to furnish water for the reclamation and settlement of the arid public lands.

“ 4. The preservation of the forests and reforestation of denuded forest areas as sources of water supply, the conservation of existing supplies by approved methods of irrigation and distribution, and the increase of the water resources of the arid region by the investigation and development of underground supplies.

“ 5. The adoption of a harmonious system of irrigation laws in all the arid and semiarid States and Territories under which the right to the use of water for irrigation shall vest in the user, and become appurtenant to the land irrigated, and beneficial use be the basis and the measure and limit of the right.

“ 6. The dissemination by public meetings and through the press of information regarding irrigation, and the reclamation and settlement of the arid public domain, and the possibilities of better agriculture through irrigation and intensive farming, and the need for agricultural education and training, and the creation of rural homes as national safeguards, and the encouragement of rural settlement as a remedy for the social and political evils threatened by the congestion of population in large cities.”

The National Reclamation Association of Louisiana was organized in January, 1912, with a view to subsequently merging it with the National Irrigation Association, which was done in January, 1913, and after the great flood of 1913 a statement was issued to the business men of the United States setting forth the reasons why the Newlands river-regulation bill should have the support of the business interests of the country.

That statement was as follows:

“ To the merchants and manufacturers of the United States:

“ The National Reclamation Association extends to you its greetings and urges your consideration of the following facts:

“ There is not a merchant or manufacturer in the United States whose market is the country at large who did not suffer from loss of trade, delayed collections, or uncollectable accounts, with consequent loss of profits, as the result of the disastrous floods

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that devastated the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys in 1912 and 1913. These national catastrophes will continue to recur at frequent intervals in different parts of the country unless preventive measures are adopted by the National Government. Is it not better that this be done without delay by prompt congressional action? Every year's delay means a continuation of this risk of enormous losses, which will be removed whenever the inertia of Congress has been overcome by an insistent demand from the business men of the country.

"You insure against fire loss by the payment of a premium to an insurance company or by cooperation with some plan for mutual insurance. Is it not good business policy for every merchant and manufacturer in the United States to cooperate with others, and by their mutual activity and insistent demand for immediate action by Congress secure the passage of the Newlands river-regulation bill at the next session? That bill provides flood insurance for all parts of the United States by providing for doing the things in this country that have been so successfully done in several European countries to prevent and protect against damage by floods. What other countries have done we can do. Not to do it is to court the eventual destruction that has finally been the fate of the countries of Asia and northern Africa that have neglected these national protective measures against the destructive forces of nature.

"The Newlands river-regulation bill creates a waterways commission and board of river regulation composed of the heads of the departments and bureaus of the National Government that are now at work on the problem of river regulation and control. It coordinates their work, provides for cooperation with States and local districts or municipalities, and then appropriates enough money for the work to actually get it done. The policy that built the Panama Canal and the national irrigation works in the West is applied by the Newlands bill to building works to harness and control the floods in all parts of the United States. The bill appropriates \$60,000,000 a year for 10 years to do this work. That total appropriation of \$600,000,000, covering 10 years of construction work, is less than the actual direct losses from floods within two years in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys alone.

"The only way to deal with the flood problem is to treat every river from source to mouth, with all its tributaries, as a unit,

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and so far as possible slow up the run-off, harness the floods at their sources by all practicable means, and restore nature's safeguards by providing controlled outlets and excess flood-water channels as well as levees, revetments, and local protective works. Levees alone can never be made an adequate protection against the extraordinary floods of the unusually heavy flood years, and any plan that contemplates 'levees only' as a remedy will in the end prove a delusion and a snare and worse than a waste of money.

"The Newlands river-regulation bill provides not only for levees but also for all other means for flood prevention and protection that are practicable and applicable to the particular section where they should be adopted. It covers the whole problem and it covers the entire country. It recognizes the necessity for flood protection and prevention and the equal right to such relief in all flood-menaced sections of the United States. The solution of this great problem demands that sectional selfishness be laid aside and the question dealt with nationally, under the constitutional power of Congress to aid navigation. The water that now goes to waste in floods must be conserved for beneficial use and turned into the river channels in the low-water season to float water-borne commerce.

"On the Mississippi River, which presents the largest problem, because this great river drains 41 per cent of the entire United States, the annual appropriations in the river and harbor bill should be enlarged from year to year as the value of this great national inland waterway becomes better appreciated and commerce thereon increases. The work done under the river and harbor bill, which is largely channel-improvement work, must be supplemented by source-stream control, bank-protective works, and a system of controlled outlets and excess flood-water channels, so as to regulate the flow of the river, lower the flood stages, and raise the low-water stages, as provided in the Newlands river-regulation bill. The floods that come from the West should be held back and used for irrigation and power development. The floods from the Ohio River should be controlled on the tributaries whence they come, and the water beneficially used, instead of sweeping down the valleys as a mighty agency of devastation and destruction.

"The Newlands river-regulation bill has been before the country for more than two years and is strongly supported by such or-

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ganizations as the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce, Philadelphia Board of Trade, St. Louis Merchants' Exchange, National Irrigation Congress, National Lumber Manufacturers' Association, Associated Chambers of Commerce of the Pacific Coast, San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles Clearing House, Arizona and California River Regulation Commission, River Regulation Committee of Stockton, Calif., Texas Bankers' Association, Louisiana Bankers' Association, Southern Cypress Manufacturers' Association, National Slack Cooperage Association, Flood Commission of Pittsburgh, and many other similar organizations, and has nation-wide support from the press.

"The active campaign for the passage of the bill by Congress is being conducted by the National Reclamation Association, and the cooperation of every commercial and manufacturing concern and industrial institution in the United States is earnestly desired in order that the relief which this great constructive national legislative measure will bring to the entire business interests of the country and particularly to the flood-menaced sections may be expedited and the danger of a recurrence of past disasters safeguarded against without delay.

"NATIONAL RECLAMATION ASSOCIATION,

"R. H. DOWNMAN,

"*Chairman of the Board.*

"GEORGE H. MAXWELL,

"*Executive Director.*

"WALTER PARKER,

"*Secretary.*"

The National Irrigation Association, now known as the National Reclamation Association, from the date of its organization in June, 1899, 18 years ago, up to the enactment of the United States reclamation act, in June, 1902, conducted one of the most far-reaching and vigorous campaigns of education ever conducted in the United States for the policy set forth in its constitution above set forth, and its efforts contributed largely to the success of the movement that brought about the final passage of the reclamation act on June 13, 1902.

The National Irrigation Association in 1903 turned its attention again to the broader aspects of the national movement to which it was devoted, and the broad and comprehensive national policy embodied in the Newlands river-regulation bill was declared and indorsed in the following resolutions drawn by George H. Maxwell

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and adopted as an expression of the broad western vision of what should be done to prevent the waste and destruction of our natural resources and safeguard against the annually recurring menace of the floods:

“RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL SESSION OF THE TRANS-MISSISSIPPI COMMERCIAL CONGRESS HELD AT SEATTLE, WASH., AUGUST 18-21, 1903.

“We are drawing from nature’s treasure vaults the wealth that has been accumulating through the ages. That wealth is in our forests, our mines, and our farms. Their products are the basis of both our internal and our foreign trade and commerce, and the original source of all employment for labor.

“CONSERVE NATURAL RESOURCES.

“The unparalleled era of prosperity through which we are now passing results from the rapid development of the material resources of our country, and we must preserve those resources if we are to maintain that prosperity. We are drawing from nature’s treasure vaults the wealth that has been accumulating through the ages. That wealth is in our forests, our mines, and our farms. Their products are the basis of both our internal and our foreign trade and commerce, and the original source of all employment for labor.

“This mighty resource of natural wealth must not be wasted or destroyed. Not only should the natural resources of the trans-Mississippi region be systematically preserved but the home market for its products should be protected.

“We have a higher destiny as a Nation than the mere creation or accumulation of capital. We must preserve and bequeath to future generations the natural resources which will be necessary to their material welfare, and without which in the years to come the masses of our people will inevitably be reduced to poverty, and suffer privation and distress.

“WHAT MUST BE DONE.

“We may use and enjoy these vast natural resources without destroying them, and by a wise governmental policy they may be enormously developed and enlarged. But if this is to be done:

“1. The appalling ravages from forest fires must be stopped.

“2. The reckless destruction of our timber resources by careless and wasteful methods of lumbering must cease.

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" 3. The forests must be preserved by right use, not only as a permanent source of supply for wood and timber but as sources of water supply and great natural reservoirs to hold back the flood waters and lessen the destructive volume of floods.

" 4. The waters that now run to waste must be stored both for flood protection and for use in irrigation and to create electric power and for the improvement of navigation.

" 5. Reservoirs should be built throughout the mountain regions and wherever practicable in the natural depressions and basins of the great plains in the valleys of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and their tributaries.

" 6. The building of a multitude of small reservoirs and ponds by damming the draws and coulees should be brought about.

" 7. The river channels should be, wherever necessary, deepened, straightened, and improved, and the banks protected by revetments.

" 8. Levees should be built along the rivers for flood protection and to improve the channels for navigation.

" 9. The public lands should be held as a sacred trust for those who will build homes upon them, and their rapid absorption into private ownership by speculators and to create great ranges for live stock should be immediately stopped.

" 10. The National Government should build the great irrigation systems necessary for the reclamation and settlement of the arid region by actual settlers and homemakers, and the lands reclaimed should repay to the Government the cost of the construction of the works.

" GREAT ENGINEERING WORKS.

" The great engineering works necessary for the utilization of the waters of such large rivers as the Columbia, the Missouri, the Colorado, the Snake, the Milk, the Salt and Gila, and the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in California, should proceed as rapidly as the lands reclaimed will be utilized, and will repay to the Government the cost of the works; and in the great interior central valley of California the problem of the control of the floods of the Sacramento River, which would furnish water enough to irrigate 10,000,000 acres of land, if conserved and utilized, should be treated as a single problem involving arid-land reclamation, flood control, navigation, and drainage, and while the improvements of the Sacramento and San Joaquin

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Rivers should be continued and extended by the National Government to fully develop the navigability of those rivers the necessity of coping with the problem in its broadest aspects should be recognized and a complete and comprehensive plan for its entire solution should be prepared without delay by the engineers of the Reclamation Service and of the War Department of the United States."

The urgent needs of different sections of the country for relief along the comprehensive lines embodied in the Newlands river-regulation bill and in the river-regulation amendment, section 18 of the river and harbor act of 1917, have found expression in the formation of strong local organizations in widely separated hydrographic basins. These local organizations have strengthened and supplemented the nation-wide educational campaign which the National Reclamation Association has during the last 18 years conducted in behalf of this national policy for the conservation, development, and utilization of all the water resources of the Nation for every beneficial purpose for which these now wasted water resources can be utilized in every practicable way and by every practicable method which can be adopted.

The Pittsburgh Flood Commission was organized by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce January 30, 1908. It raised a fund of over \$125,000, made a complete survey of the watershed of the upper tributaries of the Ohio River above Pittsburgh, and published a report which covered every phase of the problem of flood control, prevention, and protection with reference to that territory.

This report established indisputably Pittsburgh's need for the broad national river-regulation policy contemplated by the present measure. Out of this need grew the larger and more comprehensive measure designated and known as the Newlands river-regulation bill, which was drawn with the special view of covering the Nation's needs for flood protection as well as waterways. The Newlands river-regulation bill was an extension and enlargement of the original Waterways Commission bills, S. 500 and S. 3717, heretofore referred to in this statement, and was first introduced in the Senate by Senator NEWLANDS on March 1, 1911. It is printed in full on pages 391-396 of the Report of the Pittsburgh Flood Commission, being S. 10900, Sixty-first Congress, third session, and S. 122, Sixty-second Congress, first session.

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The Newlands river-regulation bill was indorsed by the National Irrigation Congress at its Chicago session in December, 1911, an indorsement which has been repeatedly reiterated at later sessions of that congress; by the California Inland Waterways Association; by the Legislatures of California, Louisiana, South Dakota, and Wisconsin; and by an almost unanimous public sentiment expressed through the press of practically every State in the Union. A late favorable editorial expression is from the Detroit News, from which is quoted the following excerpt:

"The river and harbor bill contains one provision that may help to solve the 'pork barrel' problem. It provides for a waterways commission of seven members. Congressional rules cut that provision out of the bill in the House, but the Senate restored it. A similar provision was inserted in the bill last year by the Senate, but the bill failed to pass."

After specifying the powers conferred on the commission, this editorial continues:

"These are sweeping powers, but they are needed if system is to be introduced in place of chaos. The country is tired of the annual rivers and harbors bill fight and will be glad to see the entire control of waterways placed in competent hands. The danger is that Members of Congress eager for appropriations for pet projects ignored by the new board will try to override its reports, as they have sometimes overridden those of the Government's engineers to secure picayune improvements for their districts. But if the country gets behind the commission and insists that its recommendations be adopted it may be that the annual 'pork barrel' scandal may be avoided hereafter."

The most active of the local organizations above referred to was the National Reclamation Association of Louisiana, organized at New Orleans in January, 1912, and merged with the National Irrigation Association in January, 1913, as the National Reclamation Association. Those associations brought the necessity for source-stream control before the Mississippi Valley as a lesson taught by the devastating floods that swept through that valley in 1912 and 1913. The campaign of the National Reclamation Association culminated in resolutions adopted at a great public mass meeting at the Tulane Theater in New Orleans on May 15, 1913. Those resolutions were formally presented to President Wilson by Mr. R. H. Downman, chairman of the National Reclamation Association, act-

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ing as the personal representative of Gov. Hall, of Louisiana, on May 18, 1913.

The following is a copy of those resolutions:

“ FLOOD PROTECTION AND PREVENTION AND RIVER REGULATION.

“ Resolutions adopted at the second mass meeting of the citizens of New Orleans and Louisiana held at the Tulane Theater on May 15, 1913, reaffirming and reiterating and again approving and indorsing the joint resolution of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana adopted June 6, 1912, which was specifically and in extenso approved, adopted, and indorsed at the first citizens' mass meeting held at the Progressive Union Assembly Hall in New Orleans on June 20, 1912, and indorsing and urging the immediate enactment by Congress of the Newlands river-regulation bill as amended when reported from the Senate Commerce Committee to the Senate on March 3, 1913, and embodied in full in Senate Report No. 1339, Sixty-second Congress, third session, the said bill being S. 122, Calendar No. 1187, of said session.

“ [R. H. Downman (chairman), J. H. Fulton, John J. Gannon, Frank B. Hayne, Chas. Janvier, general committee.]

“ Whereas the people of the State of Louisiana, through their representatives in legislature assembled, did on June 6, 1912, by joint resolution, concurred in by the senate and house of representatives, declare as follows:

“ ‘Whereas the great flood of 1912 has demonstrated that the National Government only can obviate a recurrence of such overflow disasters in the future by a national policy under which an adequate levee system will be built and maintained as national fortifications against invasion and destruction by the forces of nature; and

“ ‘Whereas the steadily increasing volume of the floods in the lower Mississippi Valley has been largely caused by the changed condition of the watershed in the States comprising the drainage basins of the Ohio, upper Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers; and

“ ‘Whereas these causes and conditions are beyond the control of the States bordering the Mississippi from Cairo to the Gulf, and can only be controlled by the National Government: Now, therefore, be it

“ ‘*Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana (the Senate concurring therein),* That the National Government should immediately extend such temporary relief as may be necessary to repair the broken levees and to maintain them in future, and to control the river in its channel by revet-

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ments and bank-protective works which will safeguard against the destruction of levees by caving banks and shifting channels.

“‘*Resolved further*, That in working out plans for flood prevention and the protection of the lowlands of the Mississippi Valley from overflow the Mississippi River and all its tributaries and source streams should be treated as a unit, and a comprehensive and adequate levee system, to be permanently maintained by the National Government, should be supplemented by a system of reservoirs on the headwaters of the Ohio and its tributaries, and also on the upper Mississippi, and by a system of flood-water canals and storage reservoirs in the Missouri River Valley, by means of which the flood plane at Cairo would at all times be so reduced that no combination of high water in the three upper rivers would ever create a great flood in the lower Mississippi Valley, and at the same time prevent overflow and damage by floods in the valleys of the Ohio, the upper Mississippi, and Missouri Rivers.

“‘*Resolved further*, That the Nation can not longer afford to permit its resources of soil, of power, of water, and of navigation to be carried as a wasteful and destructive flood to the sea, and that since the States themselves can not, in the general interest, prevent this waste, the Federal Government should conserve such floods at their sources, and subject the now washed waters to beneficial use.’

“And whereas subsequently, on June 20, 1912, at a public mass meeting of the citizens of New Orleans, held in the Progressive Union Assembly Hall, the foregoing joint resolution was approved and ratified and embodied in its entirety in the resolutions adopted at said meeting; and

“Whereas a flood-prevention and river-regulation conference, attended by representative citizens from many different sections of the State of Louisiana, was held in New Orleans on January 7, 1913, at which resolutions were unanimously adopted urging that the Newlands river-regulation bill should be so amended as to specifically appropriate and set apart \$100,000,000 for work on the Mississippi River from St. Louis to the Gulf; and

“Whereas the said bill as originally drawn contained the following provision:

“‘SEC. 18. That in carrying out the provisions of this act regard must be had, as far as practicable, to the equitable apportionment and contemporaneous execution of the works and projects con-

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templated under this act among the several waterways systems of the United States;’ and

“Whereas when said bill was reported from the Senate Commerce Committee on March 3, 1913, it was amended in accordance with the resolutions of said flood-prevention and river-regulation conference and the following provision added to said section 18:

“‘Not less than \$10,000,000 annually shall be apportioned to the Mississippi River from St. Louis to the Gulf, \$5,000,000 to the Missouri River, \$5,000,000 to the Ohio River, \$5,000,000 to the upper Mississippi River above St. Louis, and \$5,000,000 to the Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers in California;’ and

“Whereas said bill also contains the following specification as to the appropriation and apportionment of the \$50,000,000 a year for 10 years appropriated thereby:

“‘For the Corps of Engineers, United States Army, for building bank-protective works to prevent erosion and cutting of the banks and consequent caving, and to control the river and hold it in a permanently fixed and established channel, and for building and maintaining revetments, dikes, walls, levees, embankments, gates, wasteways, by-passes, flood-water canals, restraining dams, impounding basins, and bank-protective works for river regulation, and as a means to that end the building of works for reclamation, drainage, and flood protection, and for building reservoirs and artificial lakes and basins for the storage of flood waters to prevent and protect against floods and overflows, erosion of river banks, and breaks in levees, and to regulate the flow of source streams and navigable rivers, and reenforce such flow during drought and low-water periods, and for the operation and maintenance of the same, \$30,000,000;’ and

“Whereas the said Newlands river-regulation bill, when so amended, specifically and by its terms fully and completely provides for New Orleans, La., and the whole Mississippi Valley all the relief and benefits and all the measures for flood protection and prevention, and embodies the entire national policy advocated in the aforesaid joint resolution of the Legislature of Louisiana; and

“Whereas the said bill rejects and condemns no plan, and provides not for ‘levees only’ or for any one plan to the exclusion of others, but covers and provides for the adoption of all safe-

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guards and all plans and methods for flood protection and prevention that may, after proper survey and examination, be found practicable; and

“Whereas the said bill further provides similar relief and benefits for other sections of the country that are demanding national aid for flood protection, and without whose cooperation and support the Mississippi Valley can not expect to secure such national aid; and

“Whereas the said bill has been before the people of the United States for more than two years, and now has nation-wide support extending from Pennsylvania to California and from Montana to Texas, and will combine sufficient territorial political strength to insure its passage by Congress;

“Now, therefore, we the citizens of New Orleans and Louisiana, in mass meeting assembled, do most heartily again indorse the wise and patriotic joint resolution passed by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana on June 6, 1912, and do hereby renew and reiterate the demands embodied in the said joint resolution, and do hereby indorse the Newlands river-regulation bill, and do hereby most earnestly urge the enactment of said bill by Congress at the present session, in order that the development of the Mississippi Valley shall be no longer retarded by the flood menace;

“And we hereby call upon our Senators and Representatives in Congress to extend their hearty and unqualified support to the principles so positively and unequivocally declared, as aforesaid, by the Legislature of Louisiana, and to the aforesaid bill in which those principles have been embodied for congressional enactment.”

After the presentation of the foregoing resolutions to the President at Washington by Mr. Downman on May 18, 1913, the following striking article, setting forth a forecast of what the adoption of the national policy urged in those resolutions would bring to the great territory embraced in the valleys of the Mississippi River and its tributaries, was published editorially in the New Orleans Item of May 23, 1913:

“WHEN THE VALLEY IS REDEEMED AND THE MOSSBACKS ARE ALL
FORGOTTEN.

“Let us draw breath a moment in the strike, stop to tighten belts and lean upon our weapons, scan with placid and contented

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eye the moiling fragments of the scattered, frothing enemy—and then glance beyond the battle lines to the certain victory.

“The space of peace is pardonable. We stand intrenched in truth. The cause is just—God knows none other touches nearer our hearts and homes. The foe is really ignorance, and for the fighters under that banner we can feel pity while we smite them hip and thigh.

“Picture the valley, 10 years hence, with the flood menace long since lifted, with the resource, the purse, and mind and conscience of the great Republic busy completing the task of redeeming and conserving against the waste of future ages the uncounted boundless wealth that fate and nature have given to us here between the Rockies and the Alleghenies:

“In the Appalachians the new forests on the watersheds will have begun to grow anew. On the mountain slopes of upland America the agents of a beneficent Government will have shown the natives how to terrace their hillside farms. In the gorges and valleys of the Allegheny and Monongahela, the Kentucky, the Cumberland, the reservoirs will be finished. On the watersheds of the Ohio to the northward science will have worked out plans to prevent the recurrence of the disaster to come from such floods as 1913. Along the Ohio the locks and dams whose construction has dragged for years will be finished. From out the harbors of Pittsburgh, Louisville, Indianapolis, Cincinnati, will be moving vast fleets of barges and modern river craft, bearing to the markets of the South the product of the greatest freight-producing region on this earth—bearing it at the cheapest freight rate the world knows—by the easiest, surest route to the greatest market in the history of mankind.

“Far up the upper Mississippi the canals through to the Great Lakes will be built. Boats will be loading in Minneapolis, in Chicago, in Duluth, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Rock Island, with all the myriad articles their factories and their fields and mines produce that folk to the southward need. Reservoirs above Minneapolis will have lifted danger of flood from a vast area there. From great water-power plants established on the dams hydroelectric power will keep the busy factories humming through the nights and days—the charge therefor maintaining the works for flood prevention and stream control.

“Away in the far Northwest, on millions of acres of land now lying barren to the suns of summer and the winter winds, the

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quiet farms will guard their fertile acres—where the water is kept on the ‘land that wants it’ and off the land that doesn’t. From out of the prairies the tide of corn and wheat will move toward the river towns on the Missouri, there by barge to seek the route that nature marked thousands of years ago, down to the southern sea. The Missouri, no longer the sullen, vengeful, reckless stream of disorder and disaster, will carry again the argosies of commerce. On the distant mountain sides the new sapling forests will begin anew to catch and hold the humus and the moisture. Cared for, handled, guarded, controlled, the ‘blessed rain,’ no longer an agent of destruction everywhere, will be man’s best instrument of plenty and prosperity.

“So to the southward may we picture the change—Memphis no longer a promontory in a springtime inland sea, with busied Army officers sending out relief expeditions into the flooded area, but instead a great ‘port of call’ on the river route to the markets beyond the Gulf and beyond the canal; with warehouses, wharves, elevators lining its river front; the new-style river steamers replacing the ancient boats of the ‘Lee Line’ and the old *Kate Adams*; the harbor busy as that of Hamburg or any city on the Rhine or Elbe; and the whole mind of the people turned away from the dread of disaster to busy thinking of how best to turn to use the tremendous instrument which nature gave and man retained for a nation’s use.

“Imagine the significance of that altered frame of mind on down the valley! Vision the dwellers on the rich lands of the Mississippi Delta, of the Arkansas lowlands, no longer dreading floods! Think of their initiative freed from the numbing weight of the ‘flood menace!’ Picture the stream flow regulated, levees strong enough to stand the height beyond which the people know the waters can not go and banks assured against all caving! Picture Helena, Arkansas City, Greenville, absolutely safe for themselves and for the region round about them!

“Vision that security in upper Louisiana, in the country facing Vicksburg and Natchez; imagine it in the lowlands along the Red, the Ouachita, the Black! Picture the change in the waste land about the junction of the Red, the Mississippi, and the Atchafalaya, with the swamps reclaimed, with a great controlled sluiceway across Old River, with adequate levees on both sides the Atchafalaya to the Gulf, with locks that will continue navigation, while the gated dam controls the stream flow to Red and Mississippi alike!

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"In Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge, in Iberville and Ascension the current would have ceased to gnaw, the herald of alarm would no longer call the countryside to battle against the water as against a living, vengeful enemy. The banks would be fixed, the levees would be strong and broad and built for the ages.

"At Bayou Plaquemine, at Manchac, at Lafourche, perhaps at other places, there would be regulated, guarded, absolutely controlled spillways, themselves leveed and guarded out to the lakes, to take off the surplus water, insurance against any greater height than the levees would be built to sustain.

"In all the region men would go about their business absolutely sure!

"No longer would the winds of March bring fear and the April rains disaster.

"And in all the valley the new measure of activity, of commerce, of business, would converge toward the valley's outlet to the southward!

"To the empty acres of Louisiana and Mississippi the flocking land-hungry emigrants from the Middle West would have rushed the moment the 'flood menace' has been made sure of extinction. Already the millions of acres of reclaimed and reclaimable land about the mouth of the Mississippi would have been taken up. The swamps would have been cleared and drained, the great estates cut up into busy farms. Good roads, good schools, quickened life and trade already would have remade the life of all. In the towns and villages a new era would have come, a new point of view been opened, a new hope and a new confidence creating a new activity.

"And sitting at the valley's gate, New Orleans, redeemed and safe and whole, would sit the beneficiary of all the change from far-off watersheds in the mountains of the East and West down to the very Gulf. To her merchants would come the trade of the new dwellers on the safe lands of the South. To her banks would center the surplus capital of the region relieved from danger. To her docks and wharves would come the river craft from the Ohio, the Missouri, the Great Lakes, the upper Mississippi, the Red, the Cumberland, the Kentucky, the Tennessee; and to her harbor would assemble the ships of all the seven seas to barter cargoes with the craft from the inland waters.

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"A 'dream?'

"'Too good to be true?' in the poetic language of the facile 'Pic.'

"So men sneered at the suggestion that the Great American Desert would ever be smiling farm land. So elder statesmen as wise and weird as Ransdell laughed to scorn the suggestion that Oregon and Washington were worth fighting for. So the reclamation act was laughed at, and the Appalachian bill said to be a 'joke.' So men scoffed at Edison when he explained his incandescent lamp. So railroad-owned newspapers and their blind followers prodded old John T. Morgan when through the harassed years he took the part of modern Cato and ever thundered that 'The canal must be dug!' So learned engineers told Goethals and Roosevelt that the Panama Canal never could be completed in the exact way, shape, and form in which it is being completed!

"So our own fossils of many years ago told Eads the jetties wouldn't work; so our own Supreme Court wisely asserted that no human power could ever filter enough Mississippi River water for New Orleans to drink and bathe in. Yet the jetties are built and working, and the filtered water is at hand for anyone who will turn the faucet!

"A dream?

"No! A plain picture in the large of the exact changes that have been wrought on smaller scale by these exact means in other regions, a picture of what we can get for the Mississippi Valley!

"It is this which the Newlands bill has in view. Mr. Ransdell has said that the Newlands bill furnishes 'ample means to build levees on the Mississippi and protect us from floods.' His bill proposes no more than that. Isn't the bare possibility that this 'dream' might be made true in its other particulars enough to make it worth working for?"

CALIFORNIA ORGANIZATIONS.

The needs of the San Joaquin Valley and central California for waterway, flood prevention, and water conservation legislation of this character have been urgently pressed by the Stockton River Regulation Commission, through its chairman, Mr. J. L. Craig, and vice chairman, Mr. G. McM. Ross, and indorsed by the Water Problems Association of California, the Fresno Chamber of Commerce,

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the San Joaquin Valley Commercial Association, and numerous other similar organizations on the Pacific coast.

The Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce for more than 15 years has been a constant and earnest advocate of this legislation, supported by the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce and many other similar organizations in every great hydrographic basin in the United States, most active among whom has been the New Orleans Association of Commerce, working in cooperation with the National Reclamation Association, and as the result of their activity the special requirements and needs of the great Mississippi Valley drainage basin were more fully and specifically provided for in the bill known as the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill (S. 2739 and H. R. 12754) printed as Senate Document No. 418, Sixty-third Congress, second session, which in other respects was substantially the same as the original Newlands river-regulation bill.

On February 24, 1913, the Senate adopted an amendment to the river and harbor bill which was known as the Newlands river-regulation amendment and which was very similar in its provisions to the amendment embodied in the bill by the Senate Commerce Committee at this session and now under consideration. After extended discussion, however, which will be found in Senate Report No. 1339, Sixty-second Congress, third session, that amendment was lost in conference.

Again, substantially the same river-regulation amendment was adopted by a vote of the Senate as an amendment to the river and harbor bill, but it was afterwards stricken out on a reserved point of order.

When the water-power bill was before the Senate on February 21, 1916, an amendment to that bill was moved by Senator NEWLANDS which embodied the provisions of the Newlands-Broussard river-regulation bill.

The discussion in the Senate at that time on this subject extended over several days and has been brought together and published as a public document under the title "Water a national asset." That document includes the platforms of the political parties in different campaigns approving the general policy with reference to our rivers which has now taken form in the pending measure. The Democratic platforms of 1908 and 1912 were particularly clear and specific in their pledges for legislation such as that which the Congress is now enacting.

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SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT WILSON.

The direct appeal to President Wilson through the resolutions of the mass meeting at New Orleans which were presented to the President by Mr. R. H. Downman on May 18, 1913, resulted later in the appointment by the President of the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee, composed of the Secretaries of War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce, who, with the aid of the chiefs of the different Government services and bureaus having to do with water and waterways, made a most exhaustive investigation of the subject, particularly with relation to the working out of some plan for the better coordination and cooperation of these Government departments and agencies. As the result of that investigation and study of the subject the hearty cooperation of the Secretaries named and of President Wilson has been enlisted and exerted in bringing this great public movement to a successful conclusion.

The country is to be congratulated that the support of President Wilson, first expressed in his telegram to Senator NEWLANDS as president of the National Irrigation Congress at its Salt Lake session on September 29, 1912, has resulted in the enactment of the present measure creating the Waterways Commission, which opens up such stupendous possibilities of benefit to the people of the United States.

The broad and comprehensive purposes which have actuated the Congress in its enactment were strongly stated in the report of the Secretaries composing the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee to the President on February 26, 1916, set forth in full in the Congressional Record for April 11, 1916, from which the following is quoted:

“ [Remarks of Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada, in the Senate of the United States, Apr. 11, 1916.]

“ Mr. NEWLANDS. Mr. President, some time ago, at the height of the flood at New Orleans, a telegram was addressed by the New Orleans Association of Commerce to the Secretary of Commerce, which I will insert in the Record, calling attention to these floods and to the party assurances given regarding flood mitigation and river development, and suggesting immediate legislative action upon the subject. Following the receipt of that telegram the President reconstituted the interdepartmental committee, which some time ago was instructed by him to inquire into the differing

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phases of river regulation and control presented by various bodies and to report to him. That committee consisted of the Secretaries of War, of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Commerce.

"The office of Secretary of War being vacant, the three other Secretaries met and communicated with the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Ransdell], the junior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. Broussard], the Representative from Mississippi [Mr. Humphreys], and myself. Mr. Humphreys was unable to be present, owing to illness; but after several discussions of the question the Interdepartmental Cabinet Committee drew up a report to the President presenting their views regarding needed legislation. That report has been recently transmitted to me by the President of the United States. I ask to have read the letter of the President and the report of the interdepartmental committee, and I will ask unanimous consent to insert in the Record the telegram to which I have referred.

"The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

"The telegram referred to is as follows:

" " [Telegram.]

" " NEW ORLEANS, *February 15, 1916.*

" " HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,

" " *Secretary Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.*

" " DEAR SIR: One of the main-line levees of the Mississippi River in northern Louisiana has just given way in a district which suffered in 1912 and in 1913. A vast area of fertile farm land is being inundated. The people are fleeing from their homes. We are sending them help, as we always do. You are one of the members of the interdepartmental committee appointed many months ago to study the various submitted plans of stream and flood control. Your committee, we have been informed, reached an agreement upon the principle of the measures which were to be supported before Congress by the executive department. This organization, voicing the settled judgment of the business community of New Orleans, is on record as favoring the principle and the form of one great measure submitted to you for your approval, and by you in principle indorsed.

" " Through three sessions of Congress we have waited patiently for the action to which the Democratic Party is pledged and to which you gentlemen yourselves have submitted your belief and

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your approval. We have waited, conscious that each year of delay in approaching the problem of flood and stream control in a broad and comprehensive manner adds another year to the many years of our continual and recurring peril. Still no action has come. We do not presume to sit in judgment upon those of you who occupy posts in close relationship to the processes of legislation and of execution in the Federal Government, but we do know that our peril continues, that we lose in money and in lives in each returning year of flood. We suffer an invasion as real as though it were directed by the head of an alien government. We lose lives as certainly as though they had been lost in Mexico or on the high seas. We suffer the imposition of indemnities which we must meet with taxes and bond issues that are just as much indemnities as though levied by a conquering army, and through the years and in proportion to the wealth of the region afflicted what we have lost and what we have paid surpasses the indemnities inflicted upon France after the Franco-Prussian War—the greatest indemnity ever paid by any one nation.

“ ‘ Here in New Orleans we feel that we as individuals and our investments are physically safe because we have massed resources of human power and of material which enable us to keep our levee breastworks so far ahead of the long lines reaching up the two sides of the Mississippi River from here to Cape Girardeau that levees elsewhere give way before the flood level reaches us, and thus we are saved by the misfortune of our fellow citizens of the Mississippi Valley. We appeal to you now in behalf of those unfortunates in Kentucky, southern Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana who have lost their homes, their fortunes, or their lives through the onslaught of the forces of nature operating over the territory of thirty-odd States and concentrating their evil effect upon those who live in the smaller regions on the lower reaches of the Mississippi Valley.

“ ‘ It is now too late for Congress to do more for those who are suffering than to give them food, if they need it, to furnish them with Government tents, and to put at their call the officers of the United States Army; but it is not too late for the interdepartmental committee to make known its conclusion and its findings with reference to suggested legislation having to do with the inland rivers of the United States. It is not too late for the executive department of the Government to put its recommenda-

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tions before Congress, to lend the strength of its influence in support of the measures already drafted and pending therein, which will bring to bear upon the whole vast interrelated problem of stream-flow control, flood-disaster prevention, and use of the rivers in navigation the coordinated power and capacity of the whole Federal Government. It is not too late for this administration and this Congress to undertake "after Panama" the task of "the inland rivers"; carrying out the policy so well phrased and indorsed by President Wilson in his telegraphic message to Senator NEWLANDS, dispatched in the autumn of 1912:

" " SEAGIRT, N. J., *September 29, 1912.*

" " Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,

" " *President Irrigation Congress, Salt Lake, Utah:*

" " Please express to the National Irrigation Congress my hearty approval of the policy it is met to promote, and especially of the policy of supplementing bank and levee protection by storage of flood waters above for irrigation and water power, turning floods from a menace into a blessing and at the same time abundantly feeding navigable waters.

" " WOODROW WILSON."

" " Is it asking too much to request you to read this telegram at the next Cabinet meeting as a respectful and an urgent message from the Association of Commerce, as representing the afflicted and jeopardized people, to the responsible heads of a Government from which we had expected adequate measures of safety?

" " WALTER PARKER,

" " *General Manager New Orleans Association of Commerce.*

" Mr. NEWLANDS. Now, I ask that the Secretary read the letter of the President and the report of the interdepartmental committee.

" The VICE PRESIDENT. In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read as requested.

" The Secretary read as follows:

" " THE WHITE HOUSE,

" " *Washington, April 3, 1916.*

" " Hon. FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS,

" " *United States Senate.*

" " MY DEAR SENATOR: I take the liberty of sending you inclosed a copy of a memorandum concerning flood control which the Secretaries of the Interior, of Agriculture, and of Commerce were kind enough to prepare for me. I hope that it will prove

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of interest to you. I know that you were consulted at the time the memorandum was contemplated.

“ ‘Sincerely, yours,

WOODROW WILSON.’

“ ‘THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR,

“ ‘*Washington, February 26, 1916.*

“ ‘DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In accordance with your suggestion we beg to present a résumé of our views as to the practicable way of dealing with the problem of so regulating and handling our rivers that they will be made to be of greater use and of less injury to the Nation.

“ ‘We do not feel the necessity for emphasizing the need for such legislation. Each recurring year makes plain the greatness of the work that must be undertaken if we are to keep our rivers within their banks. The floods of each year take their toll in property and lives. Our streams are filling with silt and their channels becoming less certain and reliable as nature’s primal highways. Vast bodies of lands of the richest alluvial character are submerged so large a portion of the time as to be of no value to the Nation and of no service to the world. Therefore, to make more navigable our streams, to protect the cities and farms already established and to make a place for others, to save life and increase our crops, to conserve the waters on the higher reaches of the streams where they may be used for needed irrigation, and to convert their fall into electric power—these are the chief ends to be reached by river improvement.

“ ‘It is now time, we believe, to urge a comprehensive and constructive plan of river development upon Congress, a plan which recognizes the magnitude of the problem, the impossibility of dealing with it by temporary expedients, and that looks definitely to the time when the flood evils of to-day will be remedied and the waters put to their highest use. This means nothing less than a study under one responsible authority of the problems and possibilities of each river, and after such study a determination upon a definite policy with regard to it and the commitment of the Government to the pursuit of such policy. It has been suggested that an adequate lump-sum and continuing fund for carrying on such national work shall be placed in the hands of a commission composed of the President and four of his Cabinet, which fund shall be expended upon such projects as it sees fit. We do not think this plan in its logical entirety necessary to the end in view.

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“‘We do believe, however, that the Congress should commit itself to a comprehensive policy of river development, involving the expenditure over a long period of a large sum of money, with sufficient appropriations immediately available for continuing the work on the lower Mississippi substantially in accordance with the plans of the Mississippi River Commission, and for taking the necessary preliminary steps for the study of problems and the projection of work on other parts of the Mississippi and of other rivers. It should study each river system, and as projects are developed reports with recommendations for expenditure should be made to Congress, with the understanding that Congress, on the basis of the data furnished, would provide sufficient sums for the continuous prosecution of the work. There are precedents for this course, such as the Panama Canal and the Alaskan railroad projects. In these cases Congress determined that such enterprise should be undertaken, the general lines of development, and in a sense pledged itself to award the money necessary for the completion of the enterprise within a limited time, leaving the details of the plans and their execution to executive bodies.

“‘We believe that for the execution of such a policy the Congress should authorize a national waterways council, composed of the President and the four heads of departments most concerned—War, Interior, Agriculture, and Commerce—and a subordinate water-control board, composed of a highly qualified representative from each of the four departments and of such engineers or other officials as the Congress may authorize. The four department representatives of the latter board should have such standing in the departments and such functions as would enable them to secure such data and services in connection with the work from the various bureaus in the departments as may be serviceable and necessary. The national waterways council should be authorized to direct and control the general policy and procedure of the water-control board and other agencies charged with the execution of the work, to establish the necessary rules and regulations, to consider and approve plans, the distribution of funds under authorization from the Congress, to decide questions of conflict, and to report to Congress. The latter board should be authorized to coordinate and invoke the services of the necessary bureaus and agencies of the Government, to make preliminary surveys and detailed plans for work in various areas, to prepare estimates, to study the activities of

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the States, municipalities, organizations, and individuals in water regulation, to prepare a general program of water and waterways regulation and development involving the combined resources and cooperation of all the agencies, to recommend to the council for approval the assignments for the different bureaus or services of the departments, to complete statements of the work already accomplished, and immediately to supervise the prosecution of the work under the plans approved. It would be understood that in the meantime there should be no interference with the execution of the existing plans of the Mississippi River Commission for the work on the lower Mississippi, and that these plans should proceed as outlined unless it should become clear that improvements could be made.

“‘The most pressing call for help has come and continues to come from the lower Mississippi. As to this river, what may be determined defensive plans have been elaborated by the eminent body of national officials who are now prepared to proceed with their work to its completion. Their embarrassment arose out of the fact that they can not plan for the execution of their work continuously and for a sufficiently long period, owing to the fact that each year the work must wait on the appropriations for that year. There would seem to be every reason for prosecuting these plans vigorously, and later as investigations proceed for supplementing these works with others of a constructive nature higher up the river and for undertaking as soon as possible projects on other rivers.

“‘To summarize, we recommend:

“‘1. That Congress declare its purpose to deal with our river problems in a comprehensive way, involving a large ultimate expenditure of funds and the immediate expenditure of considerable amounts, and the creation of machinery intimately related to the executive branch of the Government.

“‘2. That the boards and the other parts of the machinery provided for shall be directed to continue the work on the lower Mississippi substantially under existing plans and to proceed with the investigations and the elaboration of plans on other parts of the Mississippi River and other rivers of the Nation.

“‘3. That all the available agencies of the Government shall be coordinated in this endeavor to improve and protect our rivers, to control floods, to utilize waters, and to reclaim valuable lands and make the necessary reports to Congress as bases for additional appropriations.

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“ ‘ 4. That the expenditures for this work should, in the main, be met by the sale of national bonds, and that the lands benefited should be made to bear a proportion of such expenses, agreements in this regard to be submitted to the Congress as part of the plan for development.

“ ‘ Cordially, yours,

“ ‘ FRANKLIN K. LANE.

“ ‘ D. F. HOUSTON.

“ ‘ WILLIAM C. REDFIELD.

“ ‘ The PRESIDENT,

“ ‘ *The White House.*’ ”

The necessity for such legislation as that embodied in the river-regulation amendment, section 18 of the river and harbor bill of 1917, was explained in brief and its relation to the provisions of the Democratic platforms of 1908 and 1912 shown in the remarks of Senator NEWLANDS in the Senate on February 21, 1916, on the subject, as set forth in the following quotation from the Congressional Record of that date:

“ RIVER DEVELOPMENT FOR INTERSTATE COMMERCE.

“ Mr. KENYON. May I suggest that in the debate on the river and harbor bill it was disclosed that over \$140,000,000 had been spent on the Mississippi River?

“ Mr. GALLINGER. Yes. Can the Senator give us any good reason, any substantial reason, that would tend to clarify our minds and vision, when we come to the consideration of this subject, as to how it is that after having spent \$140,000,000 on the Mississippi River there is not any commerce on that river?

“ Mr. NEWLANDS. I tried to explain that in my remarks when the Senator from New Hampshire was not present.

“ Mr. GALLINGER. I am sorry I was not present.

“ Mr. NEWLANDS. But I shall be glad to give the Senator an epitome of what I said on that subject.

“ THE MISSISSIPPI AS A PERFECTED INSTRUMENTALITY OF COMMERCE.

“ The Senator's inquiry is as to how, logically, we can consider the expenditure of more money on the Mississippi River when the expenditure of \$140,000,000 has done very little toward the promotion of navigation on that river. My answer is that that expenditure has been scattered most ineffectively over a great number of years; that the expenditure did not involve the com-

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prehensive treatment of the entire river with a view to making it an instrumentality of commerce; that the work was done largely in detached places here and there, in the removal of sand bars and other obstructions or in the construction of levees, and so forth; but that there never has been an effort really to artificialize and perfect the Mississippi River as an instrumentality of commerce. That involves the establishment of transfer facilities and sites, the dovetailing of the river with the rails by a system of legislation and administration, the construction of the proper wharves, the erection of the proper stations and warehouses, etc. The river has thus far been developed practically as a railroad would be developed across the continent, with spaces, every mile or two, of rails left out, or without stations or sidetracks. The Senator can understand how effective a railroad would be upon which a very considerable amount of money had been expended that was in that condition; and that has been practically the condition of the Mississippi River.

* * * * *

“What does the development of our rivers for purposes of commerce mean? It means the construction of wharves, warehouses, and transfer facilities, the acquisition of transfer sites, and a complete coordination with our railways. We have allowed our railways to sandbag our water carriers without protecting our water carriers by the law, and then we have failed to give our water carriers a perfected instrumentality, which means not only a steady channel, a steady flow of water, but wharves, warehouses, and transfer facilities and a coordination of rail and water carriage.

“You might as well say that you could perfect railway transportation by building a railway across the continent, leaving out the rails every 10 miles and leaving out sidetracks, warehouses, and stations, as to contend that you can make a river an instrumentality of commerce under the conditions which have prevailed with reference to their development.

“How have the water carriers been enabled to sustain themselves in this unequal conflict? Sandbagged by the railways during the period of navigability that put down their rates to the point of loss, without terminal facilities, without transfer facilities, without stations or warehouses, unprotected by the law, the individual carrier, the owner of a steamboat, has been compelled to struggle against these tremendous odds, and because

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he has not succeeded the former Senator from Ohio, after years of investigation, practically declares that the improvement of our rivers for purposes of commerce is a failure.

“Would the Germans have succeeded under such a system? Did they allow the railroads to sandbag the water carriers? Did they say, ‘We will perfect railways in every way with single and double tracks and sidetracks and stations and warehouses and the most perfect facilities for transportation, and all we will do on our rivers is to dredge a sand bar here and there, or here and there put up some levees for the protection of some swamp-land proprietor?’ Did they content themselves with that, perfecting the railway system and allowing the river system to take care of itself?

“No; they practically artificialized every river throughout its entire course and the tributaries, and not only that but they connected them by canals entirely artificial in their creation, and to-day waterway transportation is just as important as railway transportation, and it is important because it is the cheapest known method of transportation, for you can carry enormous bulk in barges and steamers. In a single barge itself you can carry as much as can be carried in an entire train. The cheapness of carriage to-day from Pittsburgh down to New Orleans of coal and iron indicates how cheap that transportation is.

“DEMOCRATIC PLEDGES.

“Now, Mr. President, the Democratic Party is under a peculiar obligation to do something upon this great subject, for whilst the Republican Party for years has been contenting itself with general phrases the Democratic Party in two conventions has declared in the most specific terms, first, for the coordination of all the scientific services of the Government that relate to water so that their plans shall dovetail with each other; second, for the cooperation of the Nation with the State so that each can cooperate with the other in the formation of plans and the construction of works belonging to their respective jurisdictions; and, third, the creation of an ample fund for continuous work covering every watershed in the country.

“I will ask to insert these various planks of the platform of 1908 and the platform of 1912 in the Record.

“The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. Vardaman in the chair). If there is no objection, it will be so ordered.

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“ The matter referred to is as follows:

“ ‘ DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1908.

“ ‘ WATERWAYS.

“ ‘ Water furnishes the cheaper means of transportation, and the National Government, having the control of navigable waters, should improve them to their fullest capacity. We earnestly favor the immediate adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for improving every watercourse in the Union which is justified by the needs of commerce; and to secure that end we favor, when practicable, the connection of the Great Lakes with the navigable rivers and with the Gulf through the Mississippi River and the navigable rivers with each other by artificial canals, with a view of perfecting a system of inland waterways to be navigated by vessels of standard draft.

“ ‘ We favor the coordination of the various services of the Government connected with waterways in one service for the purpose of aiding in the completion of such a system of inland waterways, and we favor the creation of a fund ample for continuous work, which shall be conducted under the direction of a commission of experts to be authorized by law.

“ ‘ DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM, 1912.

“ ‘ WATERWAYS.

“ ‘ We renew the declaration in our last platform relating to the conservation of our natural resources and the development of our waterways. The present devastation of the lower Mississippi Valley accentuates the movement for the regulation of river flow by additional bank and levee protection below and the diversion, storage, and control of the flood waters above, and the utilization for the beneficial purposes in the reclamation of arid and swamp lands and the development of water power instead of permitting the floods to continue, as heretofore, agents of destruction.

“ ‘ We hold that the control of the Mississippi River is a national problem. The preservation of the depth of its water for the purposes of navigation, the building of levees to maintain the integrity of its channel, and the prevention of the overflow of the land and its consequent devastation, resulting in the interruption of interstate commerce, the disorganization of the mail service,

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and the enormous loss of life and property, impose an obligation which alone can be discharged by the General Government.

“ ‘To maintain an adequate depth of water the entire year, and thereby encourage water transportation, is a consummation worthy of legislative attention and presents an issue national in its character. It calls for prompt action on the part of Congress, and the Democratic Party pledges itself to the enactment of legislation leading to that end.

“ ‘We favor the cooperation of the United States and the respective States in plans for the comprehensive treatment of all waterways with a cooperative plan for channel improvement, with plans for drainage of swamp and overflowed lands, and to this end we favor the appropriation by the Federal Government of sufficient funds to make surveys of such lands, to develop plans for drainage of the same, and to supervise the work of construction.

“ ‘We favor the adoption of a liberal and comprehensive plan for the development and improvement of our inland waterways with economy and efficiency, so as to permit their navigation by vessels of standard draft.’ ”

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

The broad and comprehensive plan for dealing with the problems of river improvement for navigation and the conservation, development, and utilization of all the water resources of the United States embodied in the river-regulation amendment has been widely discussed in the press of the country from one end of it to the other, and has received the practically unanimous approval of the best thought of the Nation, as expressed through resolutions of organizations of every character and the leading newspapers.

The following quotations are merely a brief indication of the trend of sentiment shown by and expressed in thousands of similar indorsements:

“ Senator NEWLANDS certainly deserves well of his country for pushing his waterways proposition as he has done. (Salt Lake Tribune.)

“ Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada, has been talking sound sense about the futility of the present method of making appropriations for rivers and harbors. (New York Tribune.)

“ The Mississippi Valley’s prosperity is essential to the prosperity of the whole country; the only way to secure its pros-

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perity is by flood prevention; the only effective flood prevention is by the passage of the Newlands bill or similar legislation. (Houston (Tex.) Chronicle.)

"In the face of the awful lessons of 1911, 1912, and 1913 those Congressmen who opposed the Newlands bill in the last session assumed a grave responsibility. (Los Angeles Tribune.)

"The appalling flood catastrophe which has just befallen the people of the Ohio River Valley emphasizes with striking and irresistible force the urgent and imperative necessity of the national legislation embodied in the Newlands river-regulation bill. (Cincinnati (Ohio) Commercial Tribune.)

"Probably no man in public life is better fitted to discuss questions relating to conservation, particularly as regards dealing with water, than United States Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS, of Nevada. (Troy (N. Y.) Times.)

"Senator NEWLANDS's bill seems to be broadly national rather than selfishly sectional, and in that is to be found no small part of its wisdom and the promise of its deserved success before Congress. (Los Angeles Examiner.)

"We join heartily with Senator NEWLANDS in his idea that the time has come when the issue should be made between annual expenditure of millions on fighting the Mississippi River and a sensible attempt to control it to the advantage of unirrigated territory. The issue is simply one between loss and gain. (Minneapolis News.)

"Senator NEWLANDS is not only a broad-minded statesman and an able speaker; he is an adroit manager and he combines the suaviter in modo with the fortiter in re. When Congress emerges from the tariff-currency-Mexican web in which all other legislation is now enmeshed it may, and probably will, take up the Newlands reclamation bill. Once it shall be seriously considered its passage will be a foregone conclusion. (Los Angeles Times.)

"The Newlands bill for the regulation of water flow in the Mississippi Valley and for the reclamation of waste lands is in every feature thoroughly practicable. (F. H. Newell, Director of the Reclamation Service, quoted in the New Orleans Item.)

"The remedy for a pork-barrel system lies in a comprehensive national plan for river improvement and flood prevention, which shall treat each stream in the country as a unit, which shall utilize all the departments of the Federal Government in cooperation, and which shall have regard for all the uses of water,

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instead of regarding only the local interest. Such a plan is before Congress now in the form of the Newlands river-regulation bill. * * * The adoption of this plan for river control and use would result in the absorption and retention of the water on the upper source streams and tributaries, and this would so standardize the flow and lower the ordinary flood levels and raise the low-water levels that navigation would be enormously improved. But the occupation of levee boards, contractors, Army engineers, local politicians, and others who profit from the piecemeal, mud-pie system of sinking money in useless river projects would be gone. Therefore the Newlands bill sleeps in committee while the pork barrel rolls merrily forward. (Gilson Gardner in Harper's Weekly.)

"The measure proposed is not the result of any slight consideration of the big work in hand, but its terms embody the best thought in the Nation on the subject of river regulation and control, and it behooves everybody in the two great valleys of the State to get behind the bill and leave nothing undone to impress Congress with the crying necessity for such a measure. (Stockton (Calif.) Independent.)

"The Newlands bill, now before Congress, proposes a new policy of flood prevention and river regulation, a policy that clearly recognizes the vital necessity of conserving the food supply of the Nation, which supply is absolutely dependent upon water. (St. Paul Pioneer Press.)

"It is with extreme satisfaction that we note the fast-growing popularity and progress of the Newlands river-regulation bill. (Stockton (Calif.) Mail.)

"This is the greatest constructive measure ever inaugurated by the United States Government for the protection of those affected by the wet and dry seasons of our rivers. (Escalon (Calif.) Tribune.)

"According to Judson C. Wall, of New York, a conservation specialist who advocates the Newlands bill, a comprehensive measure for conserving soil fertility, this country is losing under the present river-regulating policy an average of over \$100,000,000 a year. (Wall Street (N. Y.) Journal.)

"A comprehensive, practical, and efficient measure is the Newlands bill for the control of floods of this great valley, and it is growing more and more in public favor as it is better understood. (Memphis News-Scimitar.)

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"It is interesting to note that the Newlands bill is gaining friends and that there seems to be good grounds for expecting its passage. (Dayton (Ohio) News.)

"All California, without regard for political considerations or affiliations, will get behind Senator NEWLANDS's comprehensive plan for the development of the inland waterways of the State. Senator NEWLANDS proposes to meet in a statesmanlike way, by a single operation, three of the most pressing problems that confront the people of California. (San Francisco News Letter.)

"The Newlands plan offers opportunities for realization of the ambitions which the people of this region have long cherished and deserves the support of all progressive citizens. (Portland (Oreg.) Oregonian.)

"There can be little doubt that one of the greatest physical tasks awaiting the people of the United States is the proper development of the national water supply. Nor can there be any doubt that this development will best be achieved by a nationally directed policy rather than by the haphazard methods of the different States and of irresponsible private enterprise. (San Francisco Bulletin.)

"Senator NEWLANDS will deserve the thanks of the Nation if he can devise a method of removing the taint of 'pork barrel' from the rivers and harbors bill."

The following is a reproduction of an editorial from the San Francisco Call-Post of August 28, 1917, which points out the great benefits that may result from the inauguration of the policy embodied in the river-regulation amendment, with reference to the industrial conditions that will prevail after the close of the war with Germany:

"WORK FOR CALIFORNIA AFTER WAR—TO SAVE WASTED WATER—RESOURCES WORTH \$15,000,000,000 WAIT UTILIZATION WHILE VAST AREA OF LAND REMAINS UNPRODUCTIVE.

"After the war, what?

"When the world has been made safe for democracy; when 20,000,000 men have stacked their guns; when the colossal war machine has been brought to a dead halt and the engines and industries of destruction are at last standing still, where shall this inconceivable energy which is now devastating the world be diverted?

REMARKS OF MR. NEWLANDS

“For California this question was raised and answered a few days ago in the United States Senate by Senator FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS.

“No Californian knows better than Senator NEWLANDS what are California’s greatest resources and needs.

“On August 2 Congress adopted his amendment to the rivers and harbors bill. It is a measure whereby the United States Government will undertake the solution of the Nation’s water problems. Senator NEWLANDS had won a victory for which he has been fighting for 10 years. He said:

“‘Peace will bring far-reaching stagnation unless some great constructive policy for building internal improvements is substituted for the stimulus to industry created by the war that will be withdrawn when peace returns.

“‘The instant peace has been achieved this Nation can turn the same indomitable energy that it is now devoting to winning the war against a foreign foe to winning a greater war against the destroying forces of nature.

“‘The greatest waste that takes place in the country to-day is the waste of its surplus waters, which are the Nation’s greatest asset, but which now run to waste in the sea, carrying destruction in their path in the form of devastating floods. We must learn to conserve that waste and fight that devastation with exactly the same vast and all-conquering energy that we are now devoting to war.’

“What is that waste in California? What is the value of our undeveloped water resources?

“When Hiram W. Johnson, now with NEWLANDS in the Senate, was governor of California he appointed Dr. George C. Pardee, former governor, head of a conservation commission to study this question and make investigations.

“Pardee devoted several years to the work.

“He computes the value of California’s water resources at \$15,000,000,000.

“Fifteen billions of dollars!

“Fifteen thousand times one million!

“Such a sum is inconceivable, as Senator Johnson said only the other day in Washington. The human mind can not grasp it. Like infinitude, it is incomprehensible.

APPENDIX

“Were this wealth in minted money or in some form that we could measure and divide, it would mean, if distributed, \$5,000 to every man, woman, and child in California to-day.

“Enough that every family, counting five to a family, could have a \$25,000 farm.

“And since this wealth consists entirely of the unused water and the unused land in the State—though Dr. Pardee did not include the value of the land in his estimate—the farm, of course, makes the most appropriate unit of measurement.

“Dr. Pardee estimates that the water of the State for power purposes is worth \$10,000,000,000 and for irrigation \$5,000,000,000.

“Less than one-tenth of the available water power is now harnessed and less than one-fifth of the irrigable lands are being watered.

“To make the \$15,000,000,000 available for man’s enjoyment is the work that Senator NEWLANDS refers to.

“To harness these waste waters, to irrigate another 12,000,000 acres of arid lands, is the work that confronts California.

“To reach this treasure will require the building of great dams, of reservoirs, power plants, and irrigation works.

“There is the fight for California when the war is done.”



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